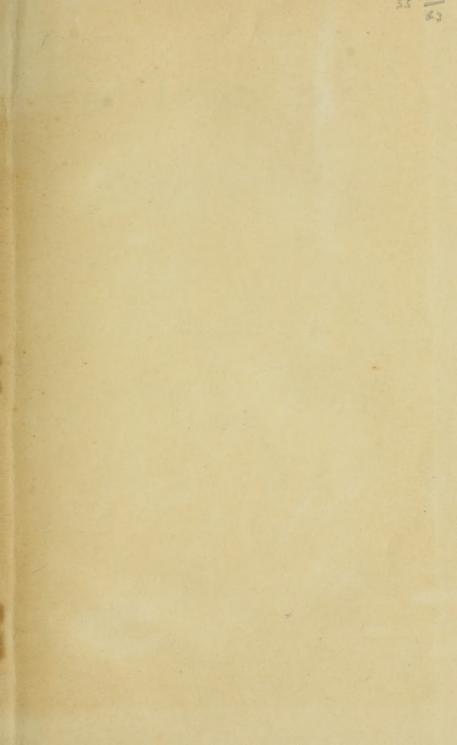
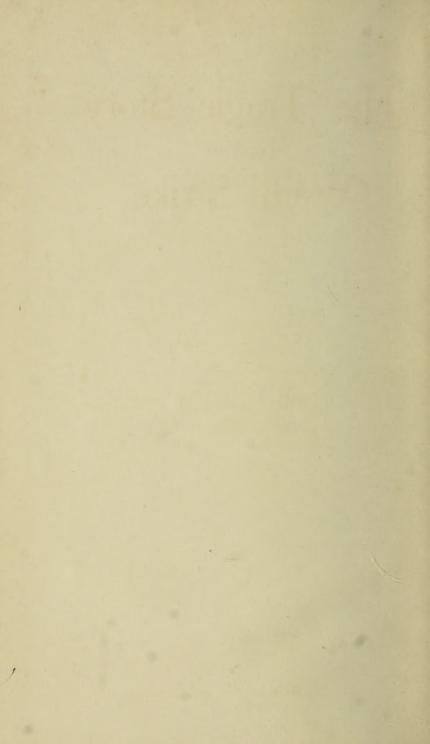


# THE TRAGIC STORY OF THE WAIHI STRIKE.

HD 5448 M52 1912 W35







# The Tragic Story

OF THE

# Waihi Strike

BY

H. E. HOLLAND, "BALLOT BOX," and R. S. ROSS.

Wellington.

The "Worker" Printery, 290 Wakefield Street.

The Tragic Story

In splendor swing the golden days,
And song-birds greet the morn;
But Labor walks the wild highways
With bleeding feet, and torn.

For not a line that's written red On history's bloody page, But tells of our heroic dead In every tragic age.

And not a year that's rolled away
In ken of Man or God,
But gibbet-marked the rock-strewn way
That Labor's feet have trod.

With dungeon dark and rack and stake
They've mile-stoned all the years;
The world they've ringed with hearts that break
And blood and bitter tears.

And now! . . . The Dark Shades downward sweep,
And Liberty lies dead;
The Night Winds moan where Martyrs sleep—
Oppression's hands are red.

-H. E. H.

AUG 25 1967

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#### DEDICATION.

#### To the

Splendid Women of Waihi—
who through storm and stress of the industrial war
never wavered in their loyalty to their class—
this book is admiringly dedicated.

"The Social Revolution which is pending in Europe is chiefly concerned with the future of the workers and the women. It is for this that I hope and wait, and for this I will work with all my powers."—Henrik Ibsen.

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#### AUTHORS' FOREWORD.

I have taken off my hat to nothing known or unknown,
I am for those that have never been mastered.

—Walt Whitman,

HE Tragic Story of the Waihi Strike' is issued by the authority of the New Zealand Federation of Labor, and is written by H. E. Holland, "Ballot Box," and R. S. Ross. It is at once an exposition and a vindication. It is a record of occurrences, a statement of facts, a demand for an inquiry. It is an impeachment of the Class State and its Massey Government—is the strikers' case for that final jury which is the unconquerable people.

In another place we have alluded to the wide ramifications and the many instructive aspects and sidelights of the strike. ourselves regretting that neither time nor space have permitted of the effective treatment of the whole of these. The "story" made have been twice the length, with ease had such agreements, mining questions as finance. secessions. manithe exodus from Waihi, the reopening Federation policy, and so on the great lying press, mines. been adequately dealt with. Here and now we cannot forbear making reference to the finely educative nature of strike propaganda and to the significant fact that associated in this responsible and necessary work was a group of Socialist and industrialist organisers of parts and prowess.

It may be contended by some that what is said were better unsaid. We think not—for the workers have to learn to do by learning how not to do; and so the traitorous or ignorant conduct dissected in this book may verily make the volume a Beacon to the outraged working-class of Australasia.

After this story had been designed and written, and while it was being printed, a notable conference of New Zealand Trade Unions was held in Wellington. As the outcome, a Basis of Unity was adopted, standing for one organisation in industry and one organisation in politics, and unambiguously endorsing the revolutionary foundations of the Labor movement. Parties to this Basis of Unity are organisations and persons attacked in this book, and under the new circumstances we have to ask that final judgment of those indicted be suspended until in the fulness of time they are viewed in proper perspective. However portions of the work be construed in the light of altered relations, it is, we think, incontestable that the volume's chief value will be its interpretation or portraiture of the living spirit of the things and times with which it deals. Despite all its blemishes, it is at least delineatory of the stirring period and happenings covered by a strike-fierce, grim and notorious: in a sense, to those in the thick of the fray, a revolutionary atmosphere was there as distinctive as historical revolutionary epidemics. To have sacrificed what was felt and said in the fight would have been to surrender the realism of it entirely. Furthermore, to us much depends upon making understood a viewpoint. And for our comfort and the reader's consideration we present the words of that modern magician



FREDERICK GEORGE EVANS.

#### In Memoriam.

#### FREDERICK GEORGE EVANS.

"An Injury to One is the Concern of All."

Free, Evans, Free! Yea, free thou art!
For Freedom thou didst give thy life!
And though in earth's ignoble strife
Thou fellst—thou play'dst a hero's part.
Free, Evans, Free! The fight is won.
See yonder dawn of Freedom's sun!

March, workers, March! Look straight ahead,
For what is life with Hope denied?
In Labour's cause our comrade died—
All glory to the martyred dead.
March, workers, March! Though death may stun,
He liveth still, brave champion!

Sleep, Evans, Sleep! Aye, sleep in peace!
All hushed we gather round the grave
In union strong with him who gave
His life for all. . . . . From sorrow cease!
Sleep, Evans, Sleep! Thy voice is still,
But speaking yet, shall millions thrill!

-A.W.R.

G. K. Chasterton: "In matters of truth the fact that you don't want to publish something is, nine times out of ten, a proof that you ought to publish it."

Of more importance than the wisdom or otherwise of the contents herein is the profound truth that the Waihi strike in the long run brought home to the unions the irrepressible presence of the Class Struggle, inherent in the system of economic exploitation, by making transparently plain the readiness of Government-entrenched behind it property "rights" and predatory privileges—to battle for Vested Interests and against the economic advancement and ethical uplift of the Hopelessly inert as unionism, generally speaking, appeared to be during the drama at Waihi, it would seem that slowly the menace of Employerdom's utilisation of the armed forces of the Stateindicated in police provocation at Waihi and Huntly and in actions of the military authorities in respect of both towns-and collaterally therewith the infamous impetus given to bogus unionism per the instrumentality of Labor Laws originally designed to safeguard straight unionism, steadily but surely aroused unions to the dangers and needs of the times. In turn a successful conference led to the co-operation of all divisions of the working-class movement in self-defensive consolidation for the protection and preservation of unionism. It may be that in the mighty future this will be accounted the outstanding achievement of the Waihi strike and mark it as epochal in emancipatory evolution. Thus a liberated unionism may be imaged declaring of the strikers: "These men builded on eternal foundations their might, majesty, power and dominion." In the confident conviction that the world will see soon accomplished the historic mission of the working-class, and that class therefore supreme, we cast this trembling effort of ours upon the waters. echoing Francis Adams' exultant defiance :-

Who is it speaks of defeat?—
I tell you a Cause like ours
Is greater than defeat can know;
It is the power of powers!
As surely as the earth rolls round,
As surely as the glorious sun
Follows the great world moon-wave,
Must our Cause be won!

#### ERRATA.

On page 15, last line, for "Doum "read "Drum." On page 18, paragraph 4, line 5, for "touching" lines, read "traction" lines.

On page 37, second last paragraph, F. Johns and not Michael Rudd should be credited with the notice of motion referred to.

#### A Commemoration.

#### FREDERICK GEORGE EVANS.

[Murdered at Waihi on November 12, 1912.]

"There is blood on the face of the earth It reeks through the years, and is red: Where Truth was slaughtered at birth, And the veins of Liberty bled.

"Lo! Vain is the hand that tries To cover the crimson stain: It spreads like a playue, and cries Like a soul in writhing pain."



HIS is to commemorate the life and death of Frederick George Evans, whose remains lie in Waikaraka Cemetery.

When armed minions of ruthless "Law" joined in league with the carefully-selected scum of the cities, for the crushing of a strike in the class interests of the community's idlers and exploiters; when union men, innocent of guilt, were flung by scores into Mount Eden

Jail; when organised savagedom threatened the honor of the women of the working-class; when life nor limb was no longer safe in Waihi, Frederick George Evans stood firm—stood loyal and brave and true to the cause of his class.

When, police-organised and police-assisted, an army of hired roughs, gun-men and scabs stormed the Miners' Union Hall, Evans was set upon and murdered. His head was battered in by a policeman's baton; his face smashed with the bludgeon of a hired thug; his body kicked and beaten and dragged by a mob of screaming toughs; his throat savagely gripped in the strangle-hold of a scab.

Frederick George Evans is dead! But his name is for ever recorded in the blood-stained annals of Working-class Solidarity. His spirit walks abroad among the toilers on the fields of industry; his tomb is a landmark on the road that winds towards human emancipa-

tion; his fate is a warning to the workers against the rule of political

tyrants and the blood-lust of profit-mongers.

Evans is dead! His struggle for existence is ended. His fight is fought—his battle won. His name goes to swell the long and imperishable list of the honored dead—the good of all nations and of all times who have never feared to march with the advance guard of the army of Human Progression and Social Revolt.

"Wherever a principle dies— Nay, principles never die! But wherever a ruler lies, And the people share the lie;

"Where right is crushed by force, And manhood is stricken dead— There dwelleth the ancient curse, And the blood on the earth is red!"

# AN HONORED CREDENTIAL. COPY OF CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE.

"The World's Wealth for the World's Workers."

NEW ZEALAND FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Waihi Trades Union of Workers.

#### CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE.

This is to certify that \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ is a financial member of the Waihi Trades Union of Workers, affiliated to the New Zealand Federation of Labor, is clear on the books of the Union at this date, and has, during a strenuous and critical period of industrial struggle, proved his loyalty to Union principles.

THOS. FRANKLIN, Secretary.

Date: December 10, 1912.

#### INDEX.

HAPTER.	Nº ICA
1. — The Federation of Labor 9	,
2. — The Waihi Miners' Union 15	,
3. — Federation Agreements v. Arbitration Awards 26	5
4. — The Scab Union Formed 28	5
5. — Was the Engine-drivers' a Scab Union? 30	)
6. — The Waihi Strike Declared 36	5
7. — When the Starvation Method Failed 38	\$
8. — Australasia's Magnificent Response to the Levy 40	,
9. — Wholesale Jailing of Strikers 42	1
10 Parliament and the Strike 47	
11. — Raefton Lock-out 50	•
12. — Labor Party Trades Councils and the Strike 55	,
13. — Wellington Trades Council Answered 61	
14. — Auckland Trades Council & Wellington Seamen's Union 67	
15. — The Labor Party's National Organiser and the Strike 74	t
16. — The Labor Party's Spokesmen 80	
17. — The Labor Party's Police Supporters 88	
18. — Lawless Law and Order 92	
19. — November 9 at Waihi 96	
20. — The Raid on Waikino Hall 97	
21. — November 11 at Waihi 100	
22. — Waihi and its Blood-red Tragedy 103	
23 Black Tuesday and After 107	
24. — Sworn Statements re November 9 111	
25. — Sworn Statements re November 11 114	
26. — Sworn Statements re Black Tuesday 122	
27. — The Frame-up of the Inquest 134	
28. — The Inquest Resumed	}
29. — Dr. Craig's Extraordinary Evidence 146	3
30. — Justice Caricatured in the Police Court 15.	
31. — Harvey, alias Ormerod 150	
32. — Police Court Perjuries 16	
33. — The Second Scab Union 16	
34. — Day-off Demonstrations 173	
35. — Finger-prints of Conspiracy 178	
36. — Arbitration, the Employers and the Workers 18	
37. — The Exodus and After 190	
Appendices 19	*

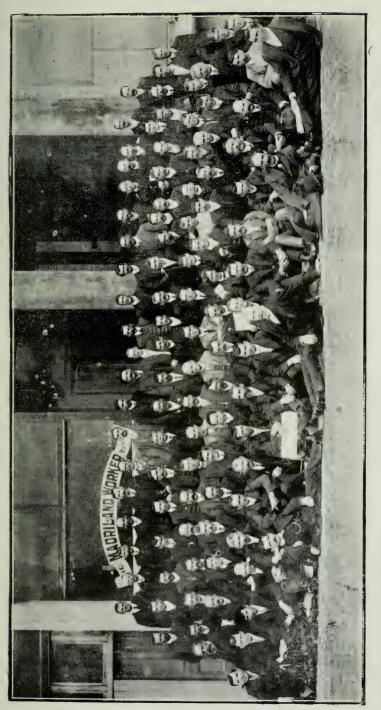


Photo by Mair & Mackinlay, Wellington.
UNITY CONFERENCE (OUTCOME OF WAIHI STRIKE), HELD AT "THE WORKER" OFFICE, WELLINGTON, JANUARY 21.27, 1913.



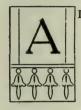
FEDERATION OF LABOR CONFERENCE, MAY, 1912.

#### CHAPTER ONE.

#### THE FEDERATION OF LABOR

O ye rich men, hear and tremble! for with words the sound is rife: Once for you and death we labored; changed henceforward is the strife— We are men and we shall battle for the world of men and life, And our host is marching-on!

-WILLIAM MORRIS.



LTHOUGH only four years have passed since the Federation of Labor had its birth, this period is full of industrial incidents in the history of Labor in New Zealand. From the Blackball strike (1908) to Black Week in Waihi (1912) is a long way, industrially speaking. We wish we had time to review matters in this land of Labor from the earliest possible period; to speak of all that Labor did in transforming this country from the

wilderness into a habitable home for the whites; time to speak of the stalwart army of mining adventurers who came across from Ballarat and Bendigo and elsewhere—of "that bright, golden legion on the march to fortune then"; but space forbids.

We wish we could recount, too, the earlier efforts at combination among our workers, terminating in the precipitation of the Maritime Strike of 1890; the great industrial activity that preceded it; the rude form of cohesion that Labor maintained in it; of the wholesale victimisation that succeeded it, and of how defeated Toil went to sleep again for many years under the soothing lullables of its politicallyappointed foster-mother, Arbitration. But this cannot be.

We must hasten on to still later years, when the charm of Arbitration was losing its power, and the spirit of that wider form of industrial organisation and unionism was becoming better known and more widely discussed, and when unionism, though still in its craft stage, was beginning to show a bolder front to employers. There was greater mental, as well as industrial, activity and the combination of forces of two strong unions (Blackball and State Miners) was brought about at the conclusion of the Blackball Strike of February, 1908.

This strike came presumably as a disquieter to the initial idea. The Blackball Co. demanded that the miners should eat their crib in 15 minutes. The miners decided to take half an hour—and took it. To get a test case the mine manager and other officials, watch in hand, stood over certain miners during crib time, and at the end of 15 minutes ordered them to resume work. The order was disobeyed, with the result that P. H. Hickey and another were prosecuted and found guilty. Penalties were not inflicted, however, until after the strike, when Hickey went to jail. In the meantime, work proceeded, the miners still taking the

half-hour for crib. Mr. R. McNab (then Minister for Lands) visited Blackball a little later, and a deputation from the Miners' Union waited on him, and pointed out to him certain breaches of the Act which they alleged were being committed by the Blackball Co. On the following day seven men were dismissed by the company for refusing to eat their crib in 15 minutes. Most of the victimised men were Union committeemen. They were: P. C. Webb, P. H. Hickey, G. R. Hunter, W. Bromilow, J. Goldsmith, T. Milligan, and H. J. Fox. That night a meeting was held, and it was resolved, with one dissentient, to down tools to compel the reinstatement of the victims. The struggle lasted over 11 weeks, and ended in a complete victory for the miners on all points.

Within a fortnight of the declaration of the strike, the machinery of the Arbitration Court had been set to work, and the Union had been cited for a breach of the award and fined 75 per cent. of the maximum penalty, viz., £75. Failing to recover this amount from the Union, distress warrants were issued against individual members, and for a whole week the police, with the aid of a carter, went around to the homes of the most prominent unionists, and gathered in articles of furniture and other belongings, which were sold by auction in the public street, and which realised the exact sum of 12s. 6d. The miners "organised" the bidding, and attended the sale in a body to see that no one competed with their authorised buyer. When this method failed, the wages of the miners were garnisheed, and thus were the fines collected.

The Blackball miners, thus furnished with demonstrated evidence of how wholly "Arbitration" was the instrument of the master-class, by a six to one majority, decided to sever connection with the Court.

Remembering the victory of the slaughtermen a few months earlier, when the men were fined £5 each over the strike (money still unpaid), the miners of the Grey Valley deliberated among themselves; visits were made from colliery to colliery; R. Semple (State Collieries) and P. H. Hickey (Blackball), backed and directed by two strong unions, made a tour of the Coast mines, and their mission meeting with almost unanimous support, a conference was held at Greymouth on August 4, 1908. The co-operating delegates were:—P. Cumming (Seddonville), J. Wesley (Granity), H. Kennedy (Inangahua), R. Semple (State Collieries), P. H. Hickey (Blackball), and the veteran leader of the Maritime Strike days on the Coast, G. Newton (Brunner). Of the non-official members, the names of F. Hudson (State Collieries) and P. C. Webb and W. Rogers (Blackball) deserve mention as energetic promoters of the scheme of local federation.

This first conference made the following official appointments protem:—R. Semple, President; P. H. Hickey, Secretary; and H. Kennedy, Treasurer. In its initial stage, it was but a federation of miners, although the first name adopted was the "Federation of Labor." It discussed Arbitration pro and con, and its constitution and rules show very clearly that it found scope in its programme for political action "to secure the return of members of Parliament pledged to support and carry out the policy of Labor," to quote the exact words of the rule.

It believed in socialisation as already propagated in New Zealand, but had no faith in the dabbling of State Departments in industrial things towards the introduction of State Capitalism; it went boldly forth with the declaration of "The World's Wealth for the World's Workers." Its operations soon grew; its influence widened; Capitalism rather belittled it; but Labor flocked to its fold, and in October of the same year another conference was held at Wellington, at which every mining industry in the country was represented, with the exception of Thames and Otago. The latter, however, wired regretting the absence of its representation. Arbitration was still the great question for discussion, rulings given by the Court finding but little approval by members, though some still argued for the principle.

This conference changed the name of the organisation to the "Federation of Miners," and elected: R. Semple, President; H. T. Armstrong, Vice-president; J. J. Scanlon, Treasurer; R. Manning, Secretary; and J. Dowgray, C. Fry, and J. Foster, Executive Members.

The Wellington Conference ratified the principles and rules

adopted by the preliminary conference.

This Conference also appointed Mr. P. J. O'Regan attorney to the organisation, and when the Federation was called upon almost immediately to fight its first great battle—on the medical examination question, at Reefton—Mr. O'Regan was a tower of legal strength.

It was during this memorable fight that the message was sent to Newcastle to be ready to cut off the supply of coal to New Zealand in case the trouble should end in a strike, and the answer that came back—"We are ready"—stands well beside Semple's answer to Peter Bowling in the strenuous days of the Newcastle Strike: "Your fight, our fight." It seems to us these were the most significant words ever sent across the Tasman Sea. "We are ready!" was the voice of the workers of a continent. "Your fight our fight!" was the reply of the toilers of an island race—all of whom will one day form a circle of hands round the shores of the South Pacific making for more industrial security and freedom than the babbling of colonial bourgeois politicians pleading for parliamentary federation has done in a score of years.

The Reefton case was won, and it was won wholly through and by the Federation, and accordingly the employers began to respect the organisation.

The next Conference, held in Wellington in October, 1909, saw important developments. The name of the organisation was once again changed to the New Zealand Federation of Labor.

The new Executive consisted of: Robert Semple, President; H. T. Armstrong, Vice-president; R. Manning, Secretary; J. J. Scanlon, Treasurer; and J. Dowgray, W. E. Parry, and J. Fulton, Executive Members.

At this conference it was decided that an organiser should be appointed; election to be by ballot. Robert Semple was elected unopposed.

In April, 1910, R. Manning resigned, and J. Glover was appointed secretary in his stead.

For a time there was not much outward growth; but there was a great internal awakening. Propaganda work was assiduously taken up everywhere, and Industrial Unionism was the dominant note struck at the 1910 Conference.

In the doings of this Conference a leaf was taken out of the book of the I.W.W., when the constitution was radically changed and a new preamble adopted.

The 1909 Conference having decided that in future election of officers must be by ballot, the 1910 officials were thus elected. The election resulted: P. C. Webb, President; H. Finch, Vice-president; J. Glover, Secretary; J. Dowgray, Treasurer (unopposed); W. E. Parry, H. T. Armstrong, J. Fulton, J. Fisher and M. Fagan, Executive Members.

One of the most significant acts of this Conference was the appointment of Messrs. Webb, Semple, Glover, Dowgray and Hickey as a Newspaper Board, to bring into existence a journal that would diffuse the principles of Industrial Unionism and act as the official organ of the Federation. This was in due time effected. The Board visited Christchurch, and there met the representatives of the shearers and woolshed employees, who had conceived a similar journalistic project; and, neither party desiring duplication of effort, after various conferences, THE MAORILAND WORKER (then a monthly journal) was eventually taken over by the Federation of Labor in March, 1911. The publishing office was removed to Wellington, new and improved machinery and type were procured, competent workmen engaged, and Mr. R. S. Ross was brought from Melbourne to edit the new paper. Mr. P. H. Hickey became sub-editor, while Mr. Robert Hogg was made general manager. When Mr. Hogg resigned, nine months later, Mr. Ross became managing-editor, and Mr. Glover was brought from the West Coast to do the work of financial manager. Mr. Ross found the work of manager and editor beyond his powers of endurance, and Mr. Grigg was appointed manager.

The force and power of THE MAORILAND WORKER during the tragic period narrated in this book no man can estimate. When Semple, Webb, and Kennedy, travel-stained officials from Waihi, arrived in Wellington with the story of the ruthless deeds in the North, the whole staff set to . work, and next day the famous "Special" of THE WORKER was printed and distributed all over the country. How the "Special" sold! It went like an illuminating torch through the Dominion, refuting calumny, contradicting slander, and dispelling doubt. During all the strenuous days of the Waihi Strike THE WORKER more than justified its existence, and substantiated its claim to stand as the journalistic champion of the working-class. With one or two notable exceptions, the whole of the Press of New Zealand was, and is, against the working-class movement; no journalistic trickery has been too low for the organs of Capitalism; no paltry subterfuge too contemptible—a solid reason surely for the further extension of the class-conscious Labor Press. We want a workingclass daily established in every New Zealand centre.

The paper began with practically a free issue; it went begging for readers and ofttimes met stern critics. To-day it has a circulation of 10,000, and finds readers all over Australasia. Its first nine months' balance-sheet showed a debit of over £900. Its last half-year has shown a credit of £114. All this inside two years.

No Conference was held in 1911, the reason for its suspension being that all available money was being put into the paper, and it was felt that there was every justification for using the money that would be required for the Conference in getting the paper started.

The election of officers and executive committee for 1911 resulted in the return of: P. C. Webb, President; W. E. Parry, Vice-president; J. Glover, Secretary; J. Dowgray, Treasurer; R. Semple, Organiser; . and H. T. Armstrong, J. Fulton, J. Fisher, M. Fagan and R. N. Ridd. Executive Members.

The 1912 Conference was held in the Federation's own building, which (with the printing plant) is now valued at £5000. This Conference amalgamated the offices of Secretary and Treasurer, and the election results were: P. C. Webb, President; W. E. Parry, Vice-president; J. Glover, Secretary-Treasurer; R. Semple, Organiser; J. Dowgray, H. T. Armstrong, M. Fagan, E. J. Howard, R. N. Ridd, M. Laracy, E. E. Canham, and P. Fraser, Executive Members.

The following preamble was adopted:

The working-class and the employing-class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working-people, and the few, who make up the employing-class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish

the wage-system.

We find that the centreing of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing-class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage-wars.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working - class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto: "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," our watchword is: "Abolition of the wage-system."

It is the historic mission of the working-class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organised, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism has been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the Let us now glance at the numerical strength of the Federation of Labor, widely regarded as the industrial hope of Maoriland.

At the Grey Conference (1908) its strength was 2350.

When the second Conference met at Wellington in the same year, the membership was 4259.

But thereafter, with industry after industry hurrying in, with battle after battle being fought and won on the industrial field, its numbers grew rapidly. The West Coast Laborers had been the first to come in. The Auckland General Laborers followed. Then came the Auckland Tramwaymen, for whom the Federation won such substantial increases. The Waterside Workers of Westport next added their membership to the strength of the Federation, and soon after the Shearers and nearly the whole of the Waterside Workers of New Zealand came in. Then came the Westport Laborers, the Flaxmillers, and other organisations.

At the last Conference (May, 1912) the membership stood at 15,000!

The officers of the Federation and the Organiser (R. Semple) went everywhere, hunting every Labor heresy, nailing every Labor lie; its speakers spoke in nearly every town, faced every Capitalistic opponent; on every field improved conditions of labor were won—shorter-hours here, higher wages there. The efforts of these officials have been herculean; their activities prodigious.

Never before in the history of the Southern World was therise of an organisation so rapid and so firm.

While a whole deluge of press abuse has been poured upon the Executive, it is remarkable to observe that the pioneer members of the organisation have stood the ballot of their fellow-members and of the rank and file, and have remained in office. During these trying times they have taken to the platform and the box, and at mass meetings and demonstrations they have strained nerve and voice unceasingly to preach the doctrine of organised unionism and social democracy.

We know the unrelenting combine arrayed against us; we know the grinning farce of "public justice" as it sits aloft on the class-controlled Bench and beside the witness-box, and we look forward to nothing in the shape of fair dealing from the ruling-class in New Zealand to-day. We know they shout for law and order; but our cry is for liberty and justice, and we are going to get it. The cell, the dock, the scaffold cannot make men less than men.

Law and order! There is order in the grave at Brunner, where half the victims of the disaster lie in two grim rows; order in Mt. Lyell mine, where our kindred of the working-class so tragically murdered are sleeping; order in the wretched steerage cabins of the Titanic, where hundreds of the working-class—men, women and children—never given a chance for life, are leaving their bones to whiten in the depths of the silent sea—victims all to the fierce commercialism of our age.

Law and order! Both prevail in India to-day, where twelve million people have laid down their lives in this the twentieth century—

•of hunger and fast and famine; and this, too, in the fairest and most fertile country on earth, and beneath the Union Jack!

The Federation has come through the industrial battlefield of 1912 like a Thin Red Line. It has fought for its life—and won. It is as hopeful and strong to-day as it has ever been. And in unfurling its banners for the future it asks you, reader; you, friend and comrade, to read and mark "The Tragic Story of the Waihi Strike" as given in the following pages. It asks you to do all that is humanly possible to further strengthen the splendid industrial organisation that has fought all forces—that has got down to fundamentals.

The last act of the Federation was to call a great conference of industrial organisations for January 21, 1913—a conference that it is hoped will prove the initial step towards cementing the organised wageworkers in One Big Union—one class-conscious Army of Labor that will present an unbroken front to the historic enemy; a mighty and irresistible organisation that will win every battle and plant the banners of human freedom on the industrial battlements of these isles of the southern sea.

#### CHAPTER TWO.

### THE WAIHI MINERS AND WORKERS' UNION

Fill up the ranks! We march in steadfast column, In the wavering lines yet forming more and more.

—FRANCIS ADAMS,



HE Waihi Miners and Workers' Union (in later days registered under the name of the Waihi Trade Union of Workers) first came into existence about the middle of the nineties.

Prior to 1902, the Union was organised as a branch of the Thames Miners' Union. On October 7, 1902, the first meeting of the Waihi Miners' Union was held. The Union was simply the old Thames branch recon-

structed under the Arbitration Act.

In the previous year (1901) a concentrated effort by the Thames Union and its various branches, embracing all the mining camps in the Hauraki Peninsula, had been made to get an award under the Conciliation and Arbitration Act, applicable to the entire district. No stone was left unturned in order to make this endeavor as successful as possible. Two members of the Union—Doum and Morgan—were specially appointed

to prepare the case for the Union and to accumulate and arrange the necessary evidence in support of that case. They did their work very skilfully, and prospects, from the men's point of view, were most encouraging. Never was there a more favorable opportunity for testing the value of the Arbitration Court. Owing to the extended organisation no difficulty was encountered in obtaining evidence overwhelming at once in the hulk force in support of men's weeks' hard fighting, and After several of over £1000, the eagerly-looked-for award was given with all the ceremonial inseparable from the deliverances of such institutions. On this occasion, however, the workers did not mistake legal phraseology for hard cash, and their disappointment was keen. The two most important points of the award were 8s, per day for miners and 7s, 6d for general laborers. The working conditions otherwise remained unaltered. This. award remained in force, with slight alterations, from 1901 until 1907.

The first election of officers of the Waihi Miners' Union took place on November 8, 1902. The first President was Mr. John Newth (at present Mayor of Waihi); the Vice-president, Mr. Joe Slevin; and the Secretary, Mr. Thomas Mooney. During Mr. Newth's tenure of office the industrial policy of the Union might be summed up as one of masterly inaction. Nothing occurred during that period to disturb in the slightest degree the equanimity of the mine-owners, nor anything that in anyway could subsequently reflect upon the trustworthiness from the employers' point of view of the most acquiescent and accommodating of Mayors.

In other directions, however, some activity was shown, one of the materialised results being the Miners' Union Hall, which was opened in 1905. The debt on this building was finally wiped off in 1910, the members of the Union having paid sixpence a week levy throughout for that purpose.

The official opening of the hall was celebrated in the usual manner by the usual banquet, at which the usual sentiments, loyal and patriotic, and all the rest of it, were given and responded to in the usual way. Mr. H. P. Barry (superintendent) and Mr. R. Williams (underground manager) were present as representatives of the mine-owners. All was harmony and "peace, perfect peace." The identity of the interests of Captial and Labor was established beyond dispute. Socialism was then but something heard afar off, and the word "Syndicalism" unknown.

In 1907, the old award having expired, application was made for a new one. On this occasion the members of the Union thought, that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a living wage and humane working conditions. The Union officials got to work, prepared their case, and enlisted the services of Mr. Arthur Rosser, Union Secretary, of Auckland, who had had considerable experience before the Arbitration Court, for the purpose of conducting the case. The principal demands were 9s. per day for miners and 8s. per day for general laborers, also a change in the working conditions. Judge Sim refused to sanction the abolition of the competitive contract system, and when the new award was gazetted it contained the re-enactment of that pernicious principle.

and gave the surface workers at the mine 7s. 6d. a day, and ordinary miners 8s. 6d., with varying and slightly higher rates of remuneration for other less numerous classes of labor. This was the best that could be got from the Court after (up to this time) 11 years of effort. The cost of living was steadily lifting, and the Waihi workers' standard of existence was in reality reduced by the award it had cost them so much to secure.

The dissatisfaction engendered by six years of working under the old award was now intensified, and the impression that little was to be obtained from the Arbitration Court began to grow.

Mr. H. T. Armstrong, now secretary of the West Coast Workers' Union, and a member of the Executive of the New Zealand Federation of Labor, succeeded Mr. J. Newth as President of the Waihi Workers' Union. He immediately set about proving to the rank and file, by practical demonstration, that their Union could, if sufficient interest were taken in its affairs, be a powerful agent in the betterment of their working conditions.

Early in 1908 a proposition to substitute the afl-in-the-job contract system was brought forward at the Union meetings, and gave rise to a considerable amount of controversy, a large number of the contractors being, for obvious reasons, opposed to the inauguration of the co-operative system. The proposal had the whole-hearted support of the President, who fought vigorously in its behalf, assisted by Charles Opie, W. E. Parry, and various others. The proposal was ultimately carried by a substantial majority, although the greater number of the contractors remained obdurate in their opposition. These latter, although members of the Union, held a meeting on their own, at which ways and means of combating the Union's movement were considered. About 50 or 60 contractors attended that meeting, and their influence, thanks to the Union being tied up under the Arbitration Act, far outweighed their numbers.

A deputation, consisting of Messrs. Opie, Nightingale, and Parry, waited upon the representatives of the mining companies, and laid the decision of the Union before them. They also desired to know what attitude the companies were going to take up in the matter. The mine-owners' representatives refused to entertain the scheme, and declaring that it was quite impracticable, insisted on the retention of the existing conditions.

That there should be revolt against such conditions was inevitable, and the "first faint streaks of forewarning" flamed into light when, in October, 1909, the Waihi Miners and Workers' Union became a unit of the Federation of Miners (now the Federation of Labor).

The subsequent history of the Waihi Union furnishes a most complete answer to the far-flung lie that the strike of 1912 was the work of one or two men.

From the moment Judge Sim's wholly one-sided award of 1907 was made, it would have been a blind person indeed who could not have read the handwriting on the industrial wall that proclaimed the inevitability of conflict.

The method of the strike was indeed the only one which themen could use, after the other means had failed, to enforce demands which were endorsed by the vast majority of the members of the Union. Owing to the Union being tied up under the C. and A. Act, and theheavy penalties likely to be incurred, it was considered advisable not to strike at that time. The Union's failure to enforce its demands at this stage was undoubtedly due to the weakness of its position as a Union registered under the Arbitration Act. Subsequent events morethan proved this.

From this time onward Mr. Armstrong was very active in Federation affairs. As his activity in this direction increased, so did his difficulty in obtaining employment in the mines, until finally he was compelled, owing to the impossibility of obtaining anything like constant employment, to hand in his resignation from the office of President, prior to his leaving the district altogether. He had been elected in August, 1907, and held office till February, 1909. Mr. Williams, who succeeded Mr. Armstrong as President, and pursued a similar policy, shared the samefate.

In May, 1909, a by-election was held to fill the position of President, rendered vacant by reason of Mr. Williams being compelled, by economic pressure, to leave the district. There were three candidates forthe office-W. Robinson, J. Beck, and W. E. Parry. The latter was elected, and occupied the chair for the first time on May 29, 1909. At. that time meetings of the Union were very poorly attended, interest in. Union matters being conspicuous by its absence. Owing to the victimisation of the two preceding Presidents, it was held by some members that the office of President should be a salaried one, so that the officer would be outside the range of the economic whip, and the Union be consequently more efficiently served. A ballot on this question was taken in August of the same year, and resulted in the position being made a paid one. The duties of the office were then defined. These were, in addition to the ordinary duties allocated to the President, that of Workmen's Inspector and General Organiser, as well as to conduct inquiries. into all complaints lodged by the members, and to defend, safeguard, and advance the interests of workers generally.

Up to this time no inspection of the mine on behalf of the workers had been carried out. The company, holding supreme power, had done just as it deemed fit. The conditions men were working under were simply abominable. With bad ventilation, with men working dangerous stopes of great width, untimbered, with bad touching lines, with man pitted against man in brutal competition owing to the contract system, the field was prolific in accidents. The spirit of altruism went down before the brutal competitive system in full swing in the mines, and the fraternity essential to industrial solidarity was conspicuously lacking in the ranks of the Waihi unionists.

Under these somewhat disadvantageous circumstances, which, taken in conjunction, were a considerable barrier to surmount, Parry set to work, and quickly came into collision with the officials of the Martha Mine through lodging an objection against the working of a

stope which he considered totally unfit for human beings to work in. He asked that the stope be taken out on timber. This was fought by the company, and Parry's interference was even resented by the men who were working the stope. The Union Committee persisted in supporting the President, and ultimately the company, after making a great show of protest and appeal beyond the Government Inspector, withdrew the men. From that time on, stope after stope was objected to, and timber installed. No stope the Union considered dangerous was taken out unless properly timbered. The ventilation was also vastly improved, and the heat reduced.

Those who understand mining will not be surprised to know that after receiving such vital benefits through their Union, the members began to take a little more interest in its affairs. The antagonism engendered by the competitive contract system dividing, as it did, the unionists into two factions, with interests diametrically opposed—contractors and wages-men—however, counteracted o a great extent the work done.

As we have already seen, abolition of this system was impossible so long as the Union remained under the Conciliation and Arbitration Act. A campaign to achieve the cancellation of the Union's registration under the Act was inaugurated, and carried on with great vigor. Although strenuous opposition was encountered, the movement for cancellation steadily progressed.

After the second conference of the Federation of Labor, which undoubtedly influenced the trend of events in Waihi, it was decided by the progressives in the Union to fight for the attainment of three definite objects. These were: (1) Cancellation of registration; (2) the establishment of the all-in-the-job system; (3) the separation of the Sick and Accident Fund from the Union funds, and the removal of its administration from the jurisdiction of the Union.

The Sick and Accident Fund had, beyond dispute, proved a disrupting factor because, owing to the trivialities and recriminations inseparable from its administration, the essential principles of unionism were often relegated to a subordinate position, and were liable to be lost sight of to a great extent, if not altogether.

The Union officials, once a definite policy was decided upon, carried it on fearlessly and with determination. After a strenuous fight, the Union decided to take a ballot on the question of cancellation, on January 22, 1910. A majority in favor of cancellation was obtained, but not an absolute majority of members whose names appeared on the books for the previous twelve months. An absolute majority is essential to achieve cancellation, and the number of those who voted for the proposition was more than counterbalanced by the large number who abstained from voting. Every vote not cast counts against cancellation. Consequently, the Registrar could not authorise cancellation of the Union's registration under the C. and A. Act at that time. In November of the same year another ballot was taken on the same question. A larger majority was obtained for cancellation, but yet it was not sufficient. Greater interest was, however, shown in the

matter, and some time afterwards a third ballot was decided upon. The two previous ballots had been taken in the hall. It was agreed that the third one should be taken at the mine mouth, so as to get a true expression of the members' opinions. A returning officer was appointed, and the Secretary and President were instructed to assist him in the taking of the ballot. An overwhelming and sufficient majority for cancellation of registration was the result of this ballot, and this cancellation was duly gazetted on May 11, 1911.

While the decision of the Union was being given effect to and the cancellation was in process of being gazetted, a meeting of the Union was called for the purpose of considering the all-in-the-job question. After a workable and concrete scheme had been submitted by the Union Committee to the meeting (which filled the Miners' Hall to overflowing) it was unanimously decided to inaugurate the co-operative-system on the lines recommended by the Committee. This system came into operation in the mines about a month later. A meeting for the purpose of dealing with the Sick and Accident Fund followed shortly afterwards, and resulted in that fund being excluded from the Union's jurisdiction altogether. This also was agreed to by a large majority.

The decision re the co-operative system, together with demands for increased wages and improved conditions, was at once submitted to

the mine-owners, with a request for a conference.

The mine-owners' representatives duly met the Union, but the conference proved wholly abortive. At this time, a determined effort was being made by the mine-owners to get a scab "union" formed and registered. It was because the mine-owners felt so sure of their ability to bring such a scab organisation into existence that no steps were taken to oppose the cancellation of registration of the Miners' Union or to block it by stating a case for the Court.

After the Union had cancelled its registration, officials of the mining companies prepared a petition for the formation of an Arbitration "union," and by means of threats and other pressure, by working on their fears of victimisation, they succeeded in forcing a limited number of men to sign; but, as Robert Semple made clear in THE WORKER of July 7, 1911, the solidarity of the unionists knocked out for the time being the possibility of success for this boss-engineered, scab. move. Of those who signed, none were miners. The signatories were all battery hands, and some of these afterward came to Semple and told him they had been hoodwinked into signing. One of them in the Union, meeting made a statement exposing the whole scheme.

Early in June a mass meeting was called to consider the reportof delegates who had met the owners' representatives. At this meetingfully 900 members were present, and the utmost solidarity was evidenced. The following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

(1) That in view of the uncompromising attitude adopted by the mining companies' representatives at conference yesterday, and our delegates having exhausted all efforts to effect reasonable concessions at said conference, we immediately hand over the question to the New Zealand Federation of Labor.

- (2) That in view of the undue criticism levied against the policy of this Union by irresponsible persons, and the effort to form a scab organisation here, this mass meeting of the Waihi Miners and Workers' Union express their unbounded confidence in the Union officials and the policy of the New Zealand Federation of Labor.
- (3) That this meeting repudiates the statement made in the local paper to-night re the major part of the contractors being opposed to any alteration in the contract system.

After the Union had handed the conduct of negotiations over wholly to the Federation of Labor, another conference with the mine-owners took place.

The mine-owners, having refused every demand made by the Union, having refused to recognise the N.Z. Federation of Labor. having declared that they had spoken the last word, having "slammed the door in Organiser Semple's face and refused to meet the Union with Semple as a representative," and the abortive conference referred to above having been held without Semple being present, the prospects of any further conference with Semple as chief spokesman for the unionists certainly did not look too promising. That Semple is so well hated by the exploiters is surely the finest tribute to his worth from a working-class viewpoint.

After the Waihi resolutions had been carried, transferring the control of negotiations to the Federation, Messrs. Semple and Parry at once proceeded to Auckland, walked into the office of Mr. Rhodes (local director of and holding power of attorney for the Waihi Goldmining Company), who in the end accompanied the Federation men back to Waihi, where next day representatives of all the Waihi mining companies met representatives of the Federation of Labor in conference. At this conference the alleged existence of a scab (or Arbitration) "union" formed the ground work of the mine-owners' objections to conceding the demands of the unionists. The employers constantly harped on the allegation that the battery hands were perfectly contented. They also insisted that the matter should again go before the Arbitration Court. They were confident, of course, of what the result would be!

In the end, while the full demands put forward by the Federation of Labor were not secured, substantial increases were wrested from the owners. The competitive contract system was abolished and the cooperative contract system substituted. This represented the greatest gain. It meant that unionist would no longer cut against unionist when tendering, and unionist would no longer employ unionist under sweating conditions. Every man working in the party was in future to be an equal sharer in the contract, and all contracts were to be subject to the supervision of the Union. Percentage on contracts was reduced from 25 to 10 per cent.; the number of days kept back was reduced from nine to four; and the system of forfeiture of deposits and percentage, when unforeseen difficulties were met with, was abolished. The agreement was made for one year instead of three.

The Union representatives at this conference were: W. E. Parry (president), W. McLennan (vice-president), C. McMillan (secretary), G.



# FEDERATION REPRESENTATIVES

Standing (left to right): J. Johnstone, John McCormack, C. McMillan, Walter Robinson, W. McLennan, D. Kemp. Sitting: Chas. Smith, Robert Semple, W. E. Parry, J. Gaynor, G. Jones. Absent: W. Sullivan. Who met the Mine-owners when the Agreement of 1912 was entered into.

Jones, Chas. Smith, J. Gaynor, J. Johnston, John McCormack, Walter Robinson, David Kemp, Wm. Sullivan and Robert Semple (F.L. organiser).

The following is a tabulated statement of wages (1) demanded by the Federation of Labor, (2) fixed by the Arbitration Court, and (3) conceded by the mine-owners:—

	D	Rates Demanded.			ard te.	Rates Secured.			
		s.	d	s.	d.	8.	d.		
Miners working in drives and stopes	s	10	0	8	6	9	0		
Miners in winzes or rises hand ste		10	6	8	10	10	0		
Timbermen		10	0	9	0	9	0		
Bracemen and oilers		9	6	8	6	. 8	6		
Chambermen, skip-fillers, and oi	lers								
underground		10	0	8	6	9	0		
Mullockers and truckers			0	8	Õ	9	0		
Shaft work		11	Õ	9	0	10	0		
All men required to work on			shall	he	paid				
shilling per shift in additi						0			
Pumpmen and pitmen			0	9	6	10	0		
Surface laborers		9	Ŏ	7	6	8	0		
Blacksmiths		11	6	9	6	9	6		
*Strikers, over 19 years of age			0	7	6	8	0		
Tool sharpeners			4	9	0	9	0		
Pipemen			0	-	_	9	ő		
Carpenters		11	6	9	6	9	6		
Firemen		$\tilde{10}$	0 8s.	£ 9	0	9	Õ		
					and	in			
Enginedrivers requiring first-class certificates and in charge of pumping and hoisting machinery:									
Winders				.0		11	0		
Winchmen		10	ő	9	6	9	6		
Other substantial increases v					_	rious			
Other basseantial field ases	-		9						

battery workers.
\*Previously over 20 years of age.

This new arrangement, gained by the industrial strength of the Federation of Labor, involved the mine-owners in an increased expenditure of at least £30,000 a year. As a direct result of its operations, cooperative contractors were in many cases receiving £1 a day, while some were even making as much as £100 per month. Even the scabs' manifesto (which was apparently constructed in the owners' office) declares that this was so.

The new agreement contained the usual preference clause, setting forth that so long as the rules of the Union should permit any person employed as miner or battery worker to become a member of the Union without ballot, the mine-owners would recognise the Union and give preference of employment to its members.

The separation of the Sick and Accident Fund from the Union was also completed about this time.

These various beneficial achievements proved highly satisfactory, and their combined effect soon began to be manifested in largely-increased attendances at Union meetings and more widespread and intelligent interest in Union affairs; where, a few years previous, it was impossible to get a quorum of 25 to attend out of a membership of over 1000, now the Union Hall, seated for 700, repeatedly proved too small.

Rightly or wrongly, and due entirely to the position he occupied as President, Parry was looked upon as one of the principal exponents of the militant Federationist policy. For that reason alone, it is interesting to note, as indicative of the advancement of progressive thought in the ranks of the Waihi Union, the majority by which he was first elected was increased at each subsequent election. In 1911 he was returned by a three to one vote, while in 1912 he was elected unopposed. These facts speak for themselves, and are sufficient refutation of the statement assiduously circulated by the press that the officials of the Waihi Union were out of sympathy with the rank and file.

From this time onwards the organisation made rapid strides. The wants and requirements of the members were promptly attended to by the Central Supervising Committee, which also adjusted all differences which might have arisen between the members themselves, always with the right of appeal to the entire membership. Education and organisation was the order of the day. The Central Committee was reconstructed on industrial lines, each different branch of occupation being represented, so that the interests of none could possibly be overlooked. As proof of the vigilance of the officials where the members' interests were concerned, it is sufficient to point out that a sum of £1800 was obtained through the organisation in settlement of compensation claims during last year. All this tended to promote cohesion in the Union, and fostered a spirit of solidarity unexcelled in the history of unionism.

In 1911, shortly after the agreement was entered upon, check-weighmen were appointed by the Union—a step that proved very profitable to the members.

Previous to this, the Union had decided that on the occasion of a fatal accident all members would cease work from the time of occurrence until the interment of the deceased. Later on, this was modified and one day's cessation only insisted upon. Few members, however, fell in with this latter modification, and to all intents and purposes the first resolution held good in practice. This was a source of continual annoyance and exasperation to the companies, although it compelled them to realise that after all the loss of a human life might under certain circumstances affect even them, and to recognise the necessity for safeguarding the lives of the workers employed by them.

During 1911 also, the Union eliminated one of the worst features of competition in the mines, namely, undercutting of contract prices, and with it disappeared the last vestige of that brutal competition which formerly ruled supreme in Waihi. It was decided that if a party could not make a satisfactory wage under the price contracted for, the members of the said party would ask the employers for a rise in price. Failing an agreement on such a basis, the Union would fix a price calculated to produce a living wage, and no unionist would take the job for less than the Union price. This rule was strictly and loyally adhered to by the men. One job was hung up for four or five months, although the company offered within one-halfpenny per ton of the Union price.

As all these various enactments proved beneficial to the workers, so did they in a corresponding measure prove inconvenient to the gold

companies. There seemed no finality at all to the power and achievements of such industrial solidarity, and the employers decided it must be crushed at all costs. As has been amply proved since then, the workers who had benefited so much from their militant organisation did not take at all kindly to the crushing process. Attacks were levelled at the Union from all suspected and unsuspected quarters. The conservative tradespeople of the lower middle-class raised an outcry against the Union and the Federation of Labor as terrible menaces to the stability and complacency of that important stratum of society to which they had the good taste to belong. The local press lifted up its voice to the best of its limited ability in alternate declamation and lament, while even some of the clergy and other professional flotsam helped to swell the chorus. The miners were daily informed that because of their Union the Empire was endangered, the Throne imperilled, Religion threatened, while even Reason tottered on its throne. The miners went serenely on their way, treating all these things as of minor importance compared with the improved conditions they were enjoying. Whatever benefits might be hid away in the mysterious depths of those hypothetically advantageous institutions, they at least knew that it was more comfortable to work in a rational spirit of co-operation with their fellows than to rush about underground in mad competition regardless of life and health as formerly. That it was nicer to go home after shift with interest in their families and affairs generally, not wholly exhausted, than to emerge from the shift in semi-fainting condition to totter home with the last grain of energy extracted from their bodies.

How keenly the mine-owners felt over the Waihi agreement is shown in the managerial report submitted to the Waihi Grand Junction Gold Company at the ordinary general meeting of shareholders held at its London office in May, 1912, in which reference is made to the increased wages paid under the agreement then about to expire. "This," the report runs, "did not affect us to any great extent . . . but what has caused serious injury has been the interference of the Union with freedom of contract. Formerly the most skilful and enterprising miners willingly undertook contracts for the various descriptions of mining work, employed men on wages to work for now member of the Union is permitted to enter into contract unless all employed are in partnership. Mr. Grace points out to us, the effect of this is fatal to economic working. . . . All this is very discouraging in the endeavors which have constantly been made to reduce working costs. . . . If the unreasonable action of the Unions is not opposed and the cost of mining is raised, the effect must be injurious to the general interests of the country."

#### CHAPTER THREE.

## FEDERATION OF LABOR AGREEMENTS v. ARBITRATION AWARDS.

Arouse! to rend those wage-slave chains; blood-rusted links to sunder.
Unite! and then resistless strike, like lightning through the thunder!
—FRED F. ROCKWELL.



EVER before in the industrial history of New Zealand has a working-class organisation been so bitterly hated by the owning-class as is the Federation of Labor, and the reason for this hatred is in the fact that the Federation of Labor menaces ruling-class interests. It not only demands immediate concessions—and gets them; but it goes further and reaches out for all values for the workers who create them.

The Auckland Tram Employees couldn't get satisfaction from the Arbitration Court; but the Federation of Labor forced concessions totalling more than £10,000 a year.

The West Coast Laborers, especially those working on the Otira Tunnel, are 2s. a day better off than they would have been had they left their case to the Arbitration Court instead of to the Federation of Labor. Indeed, the contractors attribute part of their failure to the fact that the Federation forced them to pay higher wages than they estimated upon.

The Waterside Workers had relied upon the Arbitration Court for more than 15 years, and had "won" from that tribunal a reduction of 6d. per day. The Federation of Labor wrested from the owners for the watersiders increased rates of remuneration totalling nearly a quarter of a million per annum.

From the Auckland City Council, for the General Laborers, the Federation forced increases totalling more than £4000 per annum.

The Waihi miners had been in the Court for 14 or 15 years, and were working under conditions more wretched than in any other part of Australasia. They had paid £1000 for one award and £400 for another. The Federation of Labor wrung from the mine-owners improved conditions and increased wages that totalled at least £30,000 (and probably much more). And this win cost the miners practically nothing.

When the Wellington Tramway Employees struck against the pimp system, it was the tactics of the Federation and its prompt support of the strikers (in spite of the fact that they were Arbitration unionists) that won through in some three days.

These substantial, albeit temporary, triumphs went with other things to make up the Federation of Labor's sum total of sinning. Mr. England, President of the Canterbury Employers' Association, complained at the annual meeting held in August last in regard to the

operations of the Federation of Labor:-

"Concessions had been forced from local bodies to quite a large amount. The Auckland Tram Employees secured concessions amounting to £10,000 per year! Concessions to officers, seamen and watersiders were stated to represent £200,000 per annum, whilst the Auckland City Council's advance in laborers' wages amounted to £4000 per annum!"

The officers of the Federation—and indeed the Federatior as a whole—fought determinedly for these concessions irrespective of whether the workers concerned were members of the organisation or not, and they lived to learn that there were unions, as well as individuals, who "profit by friends and—forget."

Again, comparing the awards given by Judge Sim as between the Waihi Gold-mining Companies and their employees (May, 1910) with the terms of the agreement drawn up under the direction of the Federation officers (July, 1911) between the same parties, one is able to properly appreciate the bitterness shown to the Federation. Disloyalty to the Union Jack did not really trouble the gold barons—Capital is international; nor was it the theological views of any members of the organisation—the gold barons have no god but Mammon; the princelings of Commercialism worship the Golden Calf.

Listen to the wail of Mr. Rothwell, Chairman of the Waihi Grand Junction Mine, presiding at the ordinary general meeting of shareholders in London: "Unlike most other industries, where increased cost of production arising from dearer labor or additions to taxation can be passed on to the consumer, the price of gold is fixed, and increased costs

are a direct and irrecoverable loss."

The company would not mind what wage the Waihi men demanded so long as the company could make others bear the burden, and the profits—the stolen surplus—were not lessened.

Again reverting to the two standards of wages in Waihi, you will find that all hands dealing with wet batteries, except amalgamators, man in charge of breaker, and repairers' laborers, were raised 6d. per shift by Federation agreement; mullockers, truckers, firemen attending three or less fires, winders were all raised 1s. per shift; all cyanide workers' wages were raised, and the general conditions due to the abolition of the contract system directly brought about by the efforts of the Federation were rendered healthier, safer, and better than ever before prevailed.

Nor were the efforts of the Federation directed to one industry. Mr. Campbell, Branch Secretary, Cement Workers, Limestone Island, Auckland, said in his report that the Federation agreement had reduced the hours of toil, and this must be regarded as one of the greatest of industrial benefits; firemen, winchmen, cement-baggers, and others got a rise of 6d. per day; quarry and lime workers got 1s., and clinker-trimmers 2s. per day!

These were, and are, the Federation's unpardonable offences before the Court of Capitalism. Federation methods were cheap, too, notwithstanding the press talk of Labor agitators "living on their fellows," "going about the country doing nothing," etc.

The secretary of the Denniston Miners' Union, writing to the secretary of the Federation (January 20, 1912), says: "The cost of making an agreement [under Federation] was £26 17s. The cost of making an award [under Arbitration] was £68 13s. This does not include lawyer's cost, which is only necessary in the latter case."

We have quoted verbatim from the letter sent. Who is living on his fellows, anyhow? In the same letter it is stated that conditions were bettered by the agreement and in some cases wages raised. This might be enough in figure and fact to show that the Federation of Labor has been out for the workers in every line of industry and in every class of work. While building its own house, it found time to give a helping hand to the watersiders. While raising its journalistic edifice, it found time to champion the cause of the Auckland Laborers. Its sympathies reached across the seas, and its members subscribed liberally to the Newcastle Coal Strike Fund, even while the enemy was at its own gates. It has all been a record of working-class energy, steadfastness and devotion.

#### CHAPTER FOUR.

#### THE SCAB UNION IS FORMED.

Though those that are betray'd Do feel the treason sharply, yet the traitor Stands in worse case of woe.

—Shakespeare.

P

RIOR to cancellation, the Union received several letters from the local chairman of directors (Mr. Rhodes), asking that a conference be arranged to draw up a new award, the old one having expired. This request the Union—as a unit of the Federation of Labor—declined to entertain.

About this time certain members of the Union were approached by an official of the Waihi Gold-mining Company, and asked to take part in forming an Arbitration Court Union. There was no mistaking the company's desire to hold the workers under the control of the Court.

Documents in favor of the formation of a new "union" were given to various shift bosses by the mine manager, and those documents were taken around the works by shift bosses.

A small business man—a pensioner on one of the companies—made unsuccessful efforts to get a new "union" formed. Later, adver-

tisements began to appear in the local paper after the style of the following:—

TO WAIHI WORKERS.

ALL those willing to join or assist in forming a union under Arbitration are invited to send their names and address, with stamped, addressed envelope for reply, to "Union Jack," Post Office, Waihi.

In other advertisements it was stated that "Union Jack" would not divulge the names sent to him, that a meeting would be called, and an organisation formed under the Arbitration Act. Others of a similar character, and most grotesquely ungrammatical, duly appeared; but the response was almost nil, and in the end "Union Jack," who will not behard to place, apparently resigned the job, the following final advertisement appearing:—

"Union JACK" desires to thank all those who communicated with him for their kind expressions of encouragement, and regrets he has been unable to reply to all inquiries through being busily engaged over the recent double election (school committee and municipal elections), which was such a huge success to the community.

Following on "Union Jack's" failure to deliver the goods, the mine-owners seem to have turned their eyes in other directions.

W. E. Parry explained to the Federation of Labor Conference on May 25 the methods the promoters of the scab "union" adopted in carrying out the employers' scheme. After having called meetings by advertisement in the local paper, and after the proposal to form a separate "union" had been outvoted by the engine-drivers themselves. the organisers sent out circulars to such engine-drivers as they knew were with them, but did not let the engine-drivers who were opposed to the scab "union" know what was being done. These circulars (which bore no signature) called a meeting "for the purpose of forming a union to be registered under the Arbitration Act." This "meeting" was held at the house of a man named G. D. Armour, who ran a small business as an umbrella-maker, and only a handful of men were present when the scab "union" was formally declared. Some of those most prominent in its formation were not members the Miners' Union when it was registered under the Arbitration Actthey then worked as non-unionists. Some others of them only becamemembers of the Union under compulsion. It is easy to understand how such men would become the ready tools of the mine-owners in any enterprise to smash the Red Federation.

At this meeting engine-drivers who were suspected of being opposed to the new "union" were refused admission.

At a meeting of the Miners' Union, held on April 20, as a result of questions raised by engine-drivers, the following motion was carried:—

"That, in the event of the engine-drivers forming their proposed Union, members of the Waihi Workers' Union will refuse to be lowered by them."

The Arbitration "union" next met at the Foresters' Hall, when exactly 13 persons were present.

When, on May 11, a second meeting was held at the same hall the miners instructed their president, vice-president, and secretary to interview the engine-drivers, and to place before them the true facts of the case and endeavor to persuade them to decline to be made scabs of to further the mine-owners' interests.

The miners' officials were refused admittance to the scab meeting, the chairman declaring that as the deputation had not stated its business in writing, and as no previous notification had been given, he would not receive them. There were probably two reasons for this: the mineowners' wishes and the fact that it was not desirable that the number present at the meeting should be discovered.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the principals of the new "union" were met at the street corner by one of the mine managers, who remained with them till after 11.30.

Mr. Parry informed the Conference that 1100 signatures were attached to the protest that went from the Union to the Government against the new "union" being registered, and Sir Joseph Ward had declared that its registration would not be permitted. He (the speaker) also held in his hand a document (see Appendix A) that had been forwarded to the Government from Waihi, bearing the signatures of 51 engine-drivers and firemen who objected to the formation of the new "union." There were 25 or 30 engine-drivers and firemen in favor of forming a separate organisation, and there were 51 against it.

Prior to this, Mr. Read, organising secretary of the New Zealand Federation of Engine-drivers (an Arbitration Court organisation) had visited Waihi, and upon ascertaining the true position, had declined to assist in organising the engine-drivers. He was apparently quite satisfied that the new "union" was only being created for a scab purpose.

## CHAPTER FIVE.

## WAS THE ENGINE DRIVERS' A SCAB UNION 2

One handful of money is stronger than two handfuls of truth.—Danish Provers.



T this stage it is advisable to give attention to the conduct of the alleged Arbitration "union" of engine-drivers in order to make very clear that by its sentiments, its policy, and its actions it belongs to the category of bogus unions—and, more, was and is a scab union.

We are prepared to admit that at the outset of the Waihi trouble there were trade unions who honestly believed that there was something to be said for the

engine-drivers. Some genuine-enough unionists thought that the engine-drivers were legitimately and sincerely striving for rights, and these said that if the drivers were possibly mistaken in their tactics they were not scabs. Let us see.

Early in the history of the strike it became apparent that the organised employers regarded the Arbitration engine-drivers not only as their allies, but as their care, and, according to the daily press, undertook to pay the secessionists the sum of two pounds per week each. Whilst affecting to treat the legitimate recipients of strike pay as unworthy of manhood because dependent upon so-called "charity," and unsparing in their sneers, the employers' champions and press were careful to see that their tools were more liberally maintained. A subscription raised by the Auckland employers brought the following grateful acknowledgment in the columns of the Auckland "Herald":—

#### THE WAIHL STRIKE.

Sir,—We desire to express our thanks and appreciation to you for the full and fair reports which have appeared in your paper of our Union's attitude in the present crisis. We also desire at the same time to express through the columns of your valuable paper our very sincere thanks and appreciation of the very acceptable moral and financial support that the Auckland public have afforded us. The attitude thus displayed has had the effect of heartening us in our struggle, as it has convinced us that we have all generous, right-thinking and law-abiding citizens on our side.

#### THE COMMITTEE.

For the Ohinemuri Winders, Engine-drivers and Firemen's Union.

Waihi, May 23, 1912.

Notwithstanding the well-known secrecy with which the capitalists: act in their disruptive operations within working-class ranks, their cunning sometimes goes awry, and thus the following instructive communication appeared during June, 1912, in the "New Zealand Times," of Wellington:—

The Thames Chamber of Commerce has written to the Auckland Chamber of Commerce, stating that it has been approached by representatives of the Waihi Engine-drivers' Association with reference to the place of that Association in the present Labor crisis in Waihi. It would appear, states the letter, that very little outside assistance has been received by the Association, £2 being the maximum payment made to members for the six weeks of the strike. Locally, numerous offers of assistance had been received, but before any action in the matter was being taken by the Chamber of Commerce, that body wanted to know of any proper organisation being formed to deal with the relief of the Association in a manner warranted by the importance of the body. IT WAS NECESSARY TO POINT OUT THAT THE DECISION OF THE PRESENT DISPUTE RESTED ON THE ACTION OF THE ENGINE-DRIVERS' ASSOCIATION. The Association could not maintain the position it The Association could not maintain the position it had taken up without financial assistance, and unless help was forthcoming the men would be compelled to seek work in other parts of the Dominion. In addition to a serious loss of wages, members of the Association personally were having a very bad time at Waihi, as THE MEN FELT THAT THEY WERE REALLY BEARING THE

BURDEN OF THE FIGHT ON THE EMPLOYERS' BEHALF. The Auckland Chamber of Commerce would readily understand that, unless outside assistance and encouragement were forthcoming, the men might easily abandon their position in disgust.

The capitals are ours. Perfidy unmasked for a'l to know, surely, and if it doesn't convince every sensible worker of the rottenness of the alleged "union" of engine-drivers, and of the extraordinary "working-class" forces behind it, nothing will.

It is not likely ever to be known what response the foregoing circular met with, nor is it likely that those who scream about the Federation of Labor's finances will demand the publication of a balance-sheet in this connection. What the organised employers did they kept to themselves as far as possible, but that they did much sufficient evidence has come into our possession to prove. The Canterbury Employers' Association-said to be the strongest in membership of such associations-held a general meeting, over 30 present, on April 16, 1912, with Mr. K. F. England (president) in the chair, when the chairman explained that the meeting was called as a private meeting, the business being to give members an opportunity of hearing Mr. W. Pryor, Federation secretary, and Mr. Scott, secretary of the Otago Centre, and employers' representative on the Arbitration Court, upon the subject of the better organisation of employers throughout the Dominion, and the consideration of forming a defence fund of sufficient amount to meet possible industrial unrest. He mentioned that neither had prepared any set speech, and he hoped that members would thoroughly discuss the matters which were considered of great importance by the Federation.

It is not improbable that Mr. Pryor addressed many such meetings. Be this as it may, workers will do well to note the purposes of that Defence Fund. Anyway, that the addresses mentioned did not fall on barren ground is attested by the fact that the Canterbury Employers' Association held special meetings on July 5 and 17, when it was resolved to remit £100 to Auckland Employers' Association for use in connection with the Waihi miners' dispute. The Association also considered the position it would take up towards the organising and defence proposals submitted by the Employers' Federation.

Further evidence of employers' activity is revealed in the following circular placed in our hands:—

Wellington Employers' Federation. Woodward Street, Wellington, July 24, 1912. RE WAIHI STRIKE DEFENCE FUND.

Dear Sir,—The circular letter recently forwarded to leading citizens and employers asking for contributions to the above fund is being well responded to, but a number who are willing to help are desirous of learning the extent to which assistance may be desired before forwarding their cheques, and on the suggestion of several leading merchants, it has been decided to call together a few representative citizens, merchants, and manufacturers in order that the serious import of the strike, and the industrial principle at stake, may be shortly explained by Mr. Pryor, secretary

New Zealand Employers' Federation, who, as secretary of the Gold Mine-owners' Association, is fully acquainted with the whole position.

About 50 leading citizens are being invited to attend at the above address on Thursday, the 25th inst., at 3 p.m., and the executive of this Association will be glad if you will make it convenient to attend.—Yours faithfully,

## W. A. W. GRENFELL, Secretary.

Later on an application for financial assistance to the Arbitration"unionists" at Waihi came before the Wellington Chamber of Commerce,
when the chairman (Mr. Mabin) said their sympathies were with the men.
Mr. Jones said he considered the endorsement of the appeal was a
highly political action which aimed at smashing the Federation of Labor.
Mr. Ballinger held that the Chamber should uphold the Union. They
were fighting what was an illegal action to prevent the men from working, and he thought it was their duty to help these men.

Mr. Ballinger, it will be observed, repeated the lie of the strike's illegality (it wasn't illegal), and ignored the truth of the lock-out's illegality (it wasn't legal). But the point is that once again the Arbitration engine-drivers went to the natural enemies of unionism for financial

aid, the while vociferously claiming to be straight unionists.

And now we come to perhaps the most glaring "give-away" or most impudent brazening-out of the alliance between Arbitration enginedrivers and Arbitration employers. At the annual meeting of the Auckland Employers' Association in August, 1912, Mr. David Goldie, president, spoke at length on Labor unrest, and in the course of his remarks said that two duties devolved upon employers—one to provide for the law-abiding engine-drivers of Waihi, and, two, to legislatively make it impossible for a few men to paralyse the trade of the country. In connection with the first, Mr. Goldie said such provision would be made, no matter how long the strike lasted. This was doubtless good news for the engine-drivers, though it didn't make them hauntingly ashamed of the seamy depths to which they had fallen. Maybe it also proclaimed to. the Sydney Trades Council what sort of bosses' tools they had been swindled into upholding. In connection with the second Goldie gem, our view is that the Employers' Association may go ahead and do itsdarndest, and thereby do the one further thing necessary to either makeor break organised Labor in New Zealand.

Now, in reply to the Federation of Labor's statements that the engine-drivers' union was practically formed by the employers and had their moral and financial support, the engine-drivers' union said in its. second manifesto: "In response to repeated public challenges the Federation cannot produce any semblance or particle of proof to back its contemptible accusations." In the light of the foregoing revelations, how crassly stupid or knavish this sentence reads! Moreover, never had there been a public challenge by the drivers' union on the matter!

In this same manifesto it was pointed out that "the drivers have never at any time received any help from any journal, nor have they sought help." We want to laugh at the ignorant audacity of the assertion, when hundreds of papers all through backed the scabbery and pleaded for the upkeep of the scabs. But one short letter at the beginning of this chapter gives the drivers the lie in their own words!

Apropos of engine-drivers' manifestoes, it will be interesting to hear the Arbitration engine-drivers in their own defence. Early in the strike that "union" issued a manifesto, in which it said:—

The present position is due entirely to the Union's attempt to bully and intimidate us. Moreover, we are to a man upholders of the present British constitution of the Empire and its defence, and we can no longer tolerate membership of a Union whose officials embrace every opportunity of insulting the Empire and its rulers, of ridiculing our traditional beliefs, of scoffing at all religion, and of bleating forth anti-militarism, atheism, and Revolutionary Socialism in season and out. Common honor and national instincts, apart from the professional matters herein set forth, would themselves prompt us to act as we have done in refusing to remain members of the Union.

In the following August it issued what it termed "An Exposure of the Federation of Labor"—unsigned, but bearing this footnote: "This manifesto is drafted, published and paid for by the Engine-drivers' Union of Waihi." Some excerpts:—

This is not a fight between Capital and Labor. It is not a fight between two unions. The engine-drivers of Waihi retired from the Miners' Union for solid reasons. The constant agitation and threats to strike rendered employment unstable and certificates insecure; the domineering and autocratic methods of the Union officials made life intolerable; the display of doubtful ethics, the Red Socialism, atheism, and anti-defence tactics brought the drivers under the same ban of well-deserved ridicule shown by all decent men; therefore, professional interests, a sense of common honor and of liberty, as well as disgust at the constant tirades against the nation, at the Federation clap-trap and economic banalities--these and British sentiments generally prompted the drivers to withdraw from the Federation of Labor and to register under the Arbitration Act. . . Their (Federation of Labor) treatment of unassailable facts is summed up in a weird classification of mankind, namely: If any man is not a worker, he is either a robber or a rogue. All this is merely to conceal the truth and to hide the facts under the cloakcry of "Capital versus Labor," which in this case is the Federation bogey-lie hysterically screamed to enlist emotional sympathy.

The manifesto further declares that the drivers "will neither tolerate the anarchy nor plunge into the chaotic mental jungle of the Federation of Labor . . . an organisation that fosters every form of revolutionary Socialism and similar tyranny."

Now the aforesaid manifestoes are valuable in their indication of the "make-up" of their framers. Take the first extract, and ask: Does it read like a genuine working-class position, or is it an echo of the time-honored capitalist weapon of warfare? Is not a viewpoint almost everything in the class struggle between exploiter and exploited? Furthermore, the charges are either untrue or of the lie-of-suggestion order. As for the second manifesto, its contents ought to damn the anti-Federation engine-drivers, even in Trades Council circles. If its contents do not damn the engine-drivers as anti-working-class it must be due to a lack of understanding of working-class history and hopes. The misstatements it allegedly corrects matter little by comparison with its revelation of workers with capitalist minds.

It is a commonplace of working-class history that charges of irreligion, breaking-up-the-home, denial of the sanctity-of-the-marriage-tie, disloyalty and so on are the stock-in-trade of predatory Privilege and Profit fighting for its Vested Interests and against the economic emancipation of the world's toiling wealth-makers. A union professing to be of, by and for the workers does not repeat its master's cries against that supreme working-class liberator named Socialism, nor does it repeat its masters' ignorance in labelling an industrial organisation with the mutually-destructive designations of Socialist and Anarchist. However, a body that issues such an "exposure" for capitalist purposes brands itself and pronounces its own doom. Judgment may fittingly be left to unionists the world over.

We are tempted to stray into the region of philosophical disquisition concerning the scab, but it is not here our purpose to demonstrate that scabbery is infamous so much as to demonstrate that the Waihi engine-drivers and their subsequent colleagues were and are scabs. If this is not already demonstrated, let it be remembered that a strike was on and that during the early period of the strike the Arbitration engine-drivers held themselves in readiness to go to work in the mines and did so go to work when the mines were reopened on October 2. Supposing the drivers had been fighting, as they said, for a principle, the one way to establish their bona fides would have been a refusal to work while a strike was on. They did not refuse; they organised to break the strike; as scabs they lowered scabs into the mines; and from the beginning to the end they stood for scabbery, for the employers, and for capitalism.

In another chapter we deal with the coming into existence of another Waihi union of scabs as colleagues of the engine-drivers.

#### CHAPTER SIX.

## THE WAIHI STRIKE DECLARED.

"We're ready; Court and gun
And armed battallions, blacklist, prison, curse—
What are they all beside this death in life
That crushes manhood, bars the doors of fate?"
He turns upon his heel—the die is cast—
And goes to lead the horror of the strike.
—IDA CROUCH HAZLETT (in "The Striker.")



HE Miners' Committee sat all day Sunday, May 12, and ultimately resolved to call a mass meeting for next day (Monday, May 13). The miners were duly notified of this meeting by the officials, but no instructions were given for a general cessation of work. The miners, however, attended the meeting in a body, over 700 being present, and the following resolution was carried with only two dissentients:—

"That the mining companies be informed that the members of this Union have ceased work until such time as the new Engine-drivers' Union disbands, and that all engine-drivers and firemen employed on the field be compelled to become members of our Union."

An ultimatum was issued to the companies at 8 o'clock next morning, and pickets were at once dispatched to the various shifts to inform absentees from the meeting that war had been declared.

The companies replied by ordering the mea to remove their tools from the mine. They were determined to recognise the scab "union," and by this very act they ruthlessly broke the letter and the spirit of their agreement.

Another mass meeting was held on May 14, when reports were received from the delegates who had presented the Union's ultimatum to the managers. At this meeting the salary of the president (on his own motion) was abolished, and the secretary's salary was reduced to one shilling per week.

Later in the same day a meeting was held at Waikino, when it was unanimously resolved:—

"That this branch of the Waihi Workers' Union endorse the action of the Waihi Workers' Union in ceasing work, and we further pledge our loyalty during the fight."

On Tuesday, June 18, a conference of mine-owners and Federation of Labor representatives met at Waihi to discuss the possibility of a settlement of both the Waihi and Reefton troubles.

The Mine-owners' Association was represented by Messrs. Charles Rhodes (president), H. Stansfield, J. McCombie, D. A. McArthur, A. Winter Evans, H. H. Adams, and W. Pryor (secretary). A number of mine officials were also present.

The Federation of Labor was represented by Messrs. P. C. Webb, R. Semple, W. E. Parry, G. R. Crowley, and P. Fraser.

The mine-owners insisted upon the press being admitted to this conference, and in the discussion which ensued they made a point of insisting that the Waihi dispute did not concern them—that it "was between two unions," and the announcement was made that any arrangement arrived at would have to be registered in the Arbitration Court.

It was apparent that an effort was being made to justify the employers' breaches of their agreement at Waihi and the award at Reefton. At every turn they were beaten by the Federation delegates.

The Conference proved futile, the owners (confident of the support of the Massey Government and of the "loyalty" of the Arbitration Unions) declared that the war was to go on—unless there was unconditional capitulation on the part of the workers.

"You have thrown down the gauntlet," said Organiser Semple to Mine-owner Rhodes. "We have the press and all sections of the community outside the working-class, and perhaps some people in the working-class, against us. You want a fight! Well, we are going to make it a bitter one, and bitter to the end. The gloves are off, and it is going to be a knuckle fight."

After the conference the owners renewed their efforts to strengthen the position for the scab "union." During the month of July two anti-Federation meetings were addressed by one Joseph Foster (ersttime Seddonite and Independent Labor candidate). The first address was delivered on Sunday before a "Forward Movement" audience, and the subject was "Strikes and Lockputs."

At this meeting it was announced that Mr. Foster was merely filling a gap left by Professor Mills' failure to appear. During the meeting, Mr. W. E. Richards openly accused Mr. Foster of being concerned, along with members of the staff of the local paper (which then included Coroner Wallnutt), in an effort to form a scab "union."

A week later Mr. Foster attempted to address a specially-convened meeting in the local theatre in support of the scab "union," and Mr. W. M. Wallnutt (coroner) presided. The unionists left the hall in a body, after receiving an intimation that their representative would not be permitted to reply to Mr. Foster.

These meetings were undoubtedly part of the employers' campaign against the Federation.

On July 8 a special meeting of the Union was called to consider a notice of motion from Michael Rudd (now president of the scab "union") in favor of a secret ballot on the question of ending the strike and returning to the Arbitration Court. This notice of motion was viewed with so much disfavor that Rudd asked to be allowed to withdraw it.

About this time also there appeared in the "Auckland Star" a remarkable interview with Labor-member Robertson (Otaki)—an interview in which Mr. Robertson declared that the strike was a huge blunder, and in which it was hinted that the affiliated unions would seede rather than pay the levy imposed. Indeed, Mr. Robertson's remarks read like a suggestion to the unions not to pay the levy, but rather to seede.

## CHAPTER SEVEN.

## WHEN THE STARVATION METHOD FAILED

We have known the hunger-craving, you and I, you and I, Yet scorned the servile slaving—you and I Have trampled iron-shod
On the Moloch-Mammon god
Of the slave and money-getter, you and I.
—J. LESLIE.



N bygone days it was the custom of the masters to rely upon the starvation weapon. In Australian coal strikes we have seen instances where never a blackleg has gone below, and yet the miners have been compelled to return to work beaten by the hunger of their children and the suffering of their wives.

In the beginning of the Waihi struggle, the masters undoubtedly depended upon a repetition of such ex-

periences, and they accordingly got ready to hold their mines idle until such time as stress of starvation would drive the rebelling workers back to the conditions of their previous slavery.

They had furthermore reckoned that the Federation of Labor would fall into the trap of a general strike of its members. They knew—none better—how disastrous such a "general" strike would have proved. A general strike can only be effective when it is a "general" strike, and it can only be a general strike when it is made by the workers as a whole. The Federation of Labor contains only about one-fifth of the organised workers of New Zealand; and the employers knew that most of the other four-fifths—the so-called Arbitration Unions—would have remained at work in the event of the Federation calling a general strike. In fact, they read the tragedy of suicide for the "Red Federation."

Great, indeed, then was the chagrin of the exploiters when they found that the starvation plan was not to work, when they read week by week of the money that was flowing in in thousands of pounds from the coalminers, the waterside workers, the general laborers, and other workers of New Zealand and, despite the advice of the Labor Party and its Trades and Labor Council affiliations, from the Arbitration unions of Australia. Great also their disappointment when they found that the Waihi strike was to be conducted along the only logical and scientific lines possible. We then heard the speakers on the scab side and even some press organs of capitalism denouncing the Federation of Labor for not having called a general strike.

Week after week went by, and Waihi presented a record unique in strike annals for orderliness. Not a single individual had appeared before the police court on any charge whatever.

In the meantime, the Conciliation Commissioners (Messrs. Triggs and Hally) were sent to Waihi, for what purpose did not appear to be very clear at the time, but in the light of later revelations apparently as part of the plan arranged between the mine-owners and the Government. If they ever submitted a report to the Department of the results of that remarkable visit, it has never been made public. They certainly reported to the capitalist press, and the trend of their reports so given seems to have been in the direction of discrediting the miners and aiding the mine-owners. They did not get their information from the Miners' Union, and they didin't hesitate to charge the unionists with "habitually, right through, withholding information regarding the true state or an fairs."

"The bottom has been knocked out of Waihi," they said. "You can't believe how bad things are."

"Fancy," said Mr. Hally, "grown men walking about in a civilised country with pistols in their pockets." He explained, in answer to a request for particulars, that some Waihi men, engine-drivers they were, carried pistols about because they feared personal violence from unionist strikers.

The town was half-empty, the Commissioners went on to say, and there were cases where people had sold valuable houses and furniture for a few pounds. Cases of distress were numerous, and the hospital was full. One woman had lost her child from diphtheria, due, it was alleged, to the stopping of the water supply for flushing purposes. The sickness that filled the hospital was stated to be the result of distress and hard-ship directly due to the strike. The attendance at the schools had fallen away greatly, whole families having left the town, and the technical school might just as well shut up for all the scholars that were seeking instruction.

The Commissioners, in conclusion, remarked that they could see little chance of the strike being ended while funds were available for the strikers—and who can wonder that the strikers read that as an argument in favor of cutting off support to the strikers.

Mr. Parry's rejoinder to the Conciliation Commissioners was to the point and effective. He denounced the Commissioners for permitting themselves to be made the vehicle for furnishing all kinds of imaginative "facts" and hallucinations for the injury of the strikers' cause. miners, he said, never took Messrs. Hally and Triggs seriously. Hally's statement regarding firearms he took as a direct incitement to violence and a challenge to the miners, and stated that there had been no mention of pistols prior to Mr. Hally's advent on the scene. He drew attention to the fact that pistol-carrying was entirely the part of the scab engine-drivers, a fact that no doubt accounted for the attempts they had made to induce the strikers to molest them. Up to the present there had been not even the slightest indication of violence in connection with the strike. He questioned if ever in the whole history of the Labor movement such a record was surpassed. During the whole 11 weeks there had been no case of assault, threatened or actual, before the magistrate. There had been no reinforcement of the police staff. The police had practically nothing to do other than routine work in Waihi at present. Mr. Parry said he gave the lie direct to the statement that cases of distress were numerous. He stated that while a certain amount of suffering was inevitable, it was cheerfully borne by the strikers and their womenfolk (including his own wife, mother and tisters), who would endure anything rather than the smashing of their organisation, the only safeguard they had against the brutal competitive contract system. Mr. Parry continued: "Mr. Hally's sympathy takes the form of practically recommending that strike contributions should be stopped, and urging starvation as the only means of ending the trouble. His tribute to the men's solidarity is appreciated, although it appears strange that no thought of the possibility of the company being induced to take the initiative to end the conflict seems to have crossed his mind."

#### CHAPTER EIGHT.

# AUSTRALASIA'S MAGNIFICENT RESPONSE. TO THE LEVY.

Not chance of time hath made us friends,
Being oftentimes of different tongues and nations,
But the endeavour for the self-same ends.
With the same fears, and hopes, and aspirations.
—Longfellow



AVING closed the gold mines of the Dominion by collusion and conspiracy, the Employers' Association thought it had not much to do but sit tight and so starve the workers back to submission and subjection, and so to work again and under master-class conditions. This was not to be.

The Federation Executive prepared a manifesto, proclaiming a 10 per cent. levy on all members of affiliated Unions, and this was endorsed by conference. Capitalism chuckled at this, and said the levy would never be paid; Governmental messages flashed between State Departments and State Mines and other employers to the effect that the levy could not legally be demanded from any workers, and generally every influence was used to induce workmen not to pay the levy. But they paid; £1,000 was soon up; £5,000; £10,000. The Federation dispatched a delegation, consisting of P. C. Webb (President of the Federation) and P. H. Hickey (subeditor of The Magniland Worker), to Australia to further augment the Strike Fund and to solicit the sympathy and industrial co-operation of Australian workers on behalf of their fellows in New Zealand who were making such a splendid fight against the combined forces of Capital here.



WAIHI STRIKE COMMITTEE.



STRIKER GOING TO JAIL BETWEEN TWO CONSTABLES.



UNION MOUNTED PICKETS. (FIRST DAY SCABS STARTED WQRK).



FIRST PROCESSION OF STRIKERS.



SECOND PROCESSION OF STRIKERS.

Notwithstanding the vicious and venomous reports cabled to Sydney by so-called "friends" of Labor in this country, the delegation met with a fine response in every State of Australia; their success was great; their reception was hearty. P. C. Webb travelled part of New South Wales (including Broken Hill), South Australia, and Victoria (his native State, to which he had returned after many years' sojourn in New Zealand). He delivered many addresses, and was invited to speak often in the morning even before the men went on early shift. Yes, in spite of malicious report and damning rumor, the President of this organisation was splendidly received by Australia's workers, and found welcome and kindred feeling everywhere. After the jailing of W. E. Parry (Vice-president of the Federation) it was thought fit to recall Webb, and P. H. Hickey was left "to plough the lonely furrow," and manfully he went on with the campaign. He travelled all the States of the Commonwealth; he spoke in nearly every large industrial centre. The response was wonderful; even the little newsboys of Westralia contributed their mite. The Mount Lyell men, of Tasmania, kept up their weekly levy even after the "pale horse and his rider" had swept among them and carried off so many of the brave comrades in the disaster which saddened Australasia with grief. No unionism could have been found finer than this. Hickey returned to New Zealand on December 22. His mission was fully accomplished; his personal gratitude to the workers of Australia was great, and his hopes were high. In a speech which he recently made in Wellington, he paid high compliments to Australians. and said there were abundant signs and portents in Australia to show that the day was not far distant when the N.Z.F.L. would find kindred organisations on the other side of the Tasman Sea to link-up Labor Unions and bring about the colonial consolidation of Labor. Speed the day.

Although we mention Australia first in due respect, our own Unions must not be forgotten. They did well. The balance-sheet shown at the end of this chapter speaks for itself. Large groups of men never failed; small groups of men did well, sometimes better; there was healthy rivalry, in fact, to see which Union could put up the sest average. All classes of workers were represented, and this huge strike fund of £35,000 enabled adequate relief or strike pay to be meted out at Waihi and Reefton, thus averting the want and destitution usually noticeable on such occasions in strike centres. There was no starving the men into submission. That was evident, and so the employers had to use other methods, which will be told of in all their horror in a later chapter of this book.

The levy was 10 per cent. in New Zealand, though some gave on other computations. The levy was a revelation to the country; it surpassed all understanding. The Waihi strike was fought out in the East and the West and the South, as well as the North. It was the spirit of Industrial Unionism in practice and par excellence and in excelsis. Crowds flocked everywhere like steel filings to a magnet to hear Semple, the organiser, and other speakers who appeared it all parts of the country. The men were winning, and they were winning

not only because they had that splendid solidarity widespread in their ranks, not only because this Federation's organisation was sound, but because thousands who had never seen these men were supporting them by levies right throughout Australasia. Sympathy after all ranks high among human deeds, and it came in many instances from private individuals, some of whose names may be found on the balance-sheet; others we may never know, but we do know that as long as this Federation exists it will remember gratefully the splendid support given to Reefton and Waihi men in 1912.

With respect to individual subscriptions already referred to, we are sorry space forbids us to give this long list. We can only give totals. All have been already acknowledged in THE WORKER, and much as we would like to do otherwise, we are forced to content ourselves with We can scarcely present the statement of the Strike Fund without paying a passing tribute to the business-like way in which the financial side of affairs was handled by Mr. J. Glover, Secretary and Treasurer of the Federation. We have not heard a murmur in regard to this matter, never a word of complaint. All amounts received were quickly acknowledged week by week in The Worker: accounts were passed along promptly, and remittances were urgently dealt with. It speaks volumes, not only for his integrity, but also for his ability, to say that this huge sum of money was so splendidly handled, and Federation business received the same earnest care in this important matter as it has done right through Mr. Glover's career as an executive officer of the organisation.

## CHAPTER NINE.

## WHOLESALE JAILING OF THE STRIKERS.

"Men seldom, or rather, never for any length of time, deliberately rebel against anything that does not deserve rebelling against."—Carlyle.



LTHOUGH matters had progressed most peaceably for over four months, although not a single striker had been before the courts for any cause whatever, a bevy of policemen, all armed and many mounted, were dragooned on Waihi and Waikino.

Herdman, Minister of Justice, had received a petition from about 30 persons, who declared that they were afraid lest some breach of the peace should occur. The names of these 30 Herdman kept to himself; he

would not divulge them even when pressed for particulars in Parliament. It is not hard in any town of the size of Waihi, cf about 6500

people, to find 30 who are afraid—afraid of pickpockets, burglars, and even of rats. The petition was so flimsy, the strikers were so organised and orderly, that you must rather believe that provocation, inciting, and strike-breaking were the ultimate ends in view.

That many of the police were provocative is beyond doubt. Passing the groups of strikers in Waikino, one policeman was heard to say: "Why, there isn't any fight in these men!" Two strike pickets were shoved off the footpath by police, who said: "You b—— curs, you won't fight; if we get a chance we will smash your b—— brains in." Of such all through was the nature of police intervention in the North.

One of the first to come in clash with this behaviour in the guise of law was W. E. Parry, President of the Waihi Union. A system of peaceful picketing such as is known everywhere in strike times had been set up by the Union, and Parry and his officers were successful at first in winning off by persuasion many of the earlier blacklegs. This could not be endured by the employers, and so, assisted by their police allies, several cases were soon cited before the Court.

September 11, 1912, was an exciting day at the Courthouse, Waihi. Mr. Selwyn Mays, from the office of the Crown Prosecutor, Auckland, prosecuted, and Mr. Clendon defended the strikers. Seventeen men were summoned. The alleged offence was following and annoying one Sheard, a blackleg. Note a few tit-bits taken from the published account of the case:—

Constable Williamson, cross-examined by Mr. Clendon, said he "didn't know why only 17 men were summoned out of nearly 300 present." When pressed, he said it was "for private reasons." Counsel wanted to know what were these "private reasons," but the police prosecutor, prompted by a police sergeant, objected to the question, and the Magistrate upheld the point. Finally, he admitted, under a fairly severe cross-examination, that "the only violence was jostling the engine-driver, but he could not name any of the prisoners before the Bar with that offence. They were the leaders and the most aggressive, as they were well up alongside the driver in the following-up process."

Constable Jackson gave corroborative evidence. He said the crowd was good-humored, and no violence was committed

by the strikers.

Here are some of the Magistrate's words in summing-up the case and committing the men to jail for not finding sureties:—

They were treading so closely on his (Sheard's) heels as to be within an ace of committing an assault. The manner in which they followed him reduced him to the verge of nervous prostration. I don't say they were otherwise a riotous or disorderly crowd. The police had said the crowd was orderly and peaceful to them, though obviously hostile to Sheard. I must also pay my tribute to the general good conduct of the miners. From my own observations, before and since the strike, their conduct was exceptionally good. The police said the crowd was otherwise orderly. The President (Parry) gave his evidence very straightforwardly. He also said the Union did not encourage these tactics,





SOME ENGINE DRIVERS WHO WOULDN'T SCAB
(F. G. Evans is in the centre of the middle row of bottom group)

As a result, 14 were bound over to keep the peace for 12 months in sureties of £10 each, or go to jail for 12 months. All but one elected to go to jail, and the batch was taken to Auckland and lodged in Mount Eden Jail.

The jailed unionists were destined to have plenty of comrades, for it was not long before the police proceeded against the heads of the Strike Committee: W. E. Parry (President), W. McLennan (Vice-president), H. Melrose and C. Opic. All four cases were taken together. The Magistrate (Fraser), while complimenting the defendants on the manner in which they had explained their position, committed the first three like the rest, but raised the surety to £20! And to jail went the officials of the Union and the strike.

The victims of the law were accorded a fine reception in Auckland. The watersiders knocked off for two hours to applaud the officials on their way to Mount Eden. Anti-militarists were in great evidence. The Socialist Party held monster meetings, and H. Scott Bennett was very cloquent in defence of the men. Freedom's protest was heard everywhere.

Thousands were on the whari next day to acclaim another batch (who would not sell their freedom of speech and action) as they landed on the wharf and journeyed jailward.

Matters proceeded apace: conviction succeeded conviction; Parliament was invaded and re-invaded on behalf of the men. Mr. J. Payne said: "There had been no flagrant contravention of the law, and the men should be released." The Massey Government, however, proceeded to do the work of its masters.

Dean Swift once said: "You cannot reason a man out of a thing he was not reasoned into," and the unionists could no more be reasoned into being bound when they had done no wrong than the Government could be reasoned into a just and impartial course of action.

More commitments took place; demonstrations in favor of the strikers' freedom were held everywhere; in Auckland, Organiser Semple and other officials led 5000 people to the very walls of the jail, and sang sengs of cheer, amid a downpour of rain. "Tell the boys to keep fighting!" was the message sent out by H. Melrose in writing to his wife.

Twenty-three more "prisoners" scon followed, making a grand total of 68.

The treatment meted out to the jailed strikers was vile; and when in the Waihi cells at night unarimable unterances respecting the treatment and behaviour of the strikers' wives were made by creatures in police uniform; utterances that would not bear publication.

Twenty hours per day were spent in the cells; only four were allowed for exercise and fresh air.

Food was scant. Breakfast consisted of 12oz. dry bread and a mug of alleged tea (no milk). Dinner: Goz. meat (weighed before cooking), 2oz. vegetables, with 4oz. potatoes. A curious concoction, strangely labelled soup, was also served at dinner. Tea: 4oz. dry bread with the usual black tea.

The most painful and disgusting arrangement with regard to sanitation existed in Mount Eden. A small chamber was placed in each cell, and as the strikers were left from 4.45 p.m. to 6.45 a.m. locked in the cells, some use often had to be made of these utensils. As the coverings were defective, the result will be disgustingly apparent.

If a man happened to be a Rationalist, or of no religion, and declined to attend any church service, he was compelled to remain in his cell during church hour, and consequently only three hours' exercise

was allowed him on Sunday.

The strikers were held in prison for various terms. The first batch was committed on September 21, others at later dates, and all except two remained in jail until after the police-assisted riot of November 12.

After the riot matters rapidly assumed a new aspect; among other matters it was acknowledged that no good purpose could be served by the striker prisoners remaining longer in jail. Parry's presence outside became necessary, and without consulting him, Semple, Webb, and other Federation officials effected his release. It must be distinctly understood that Parry did not come out on his own initiative nor of his own will, but, being out, the anxiety of married men in jail during a time when terror reigned around their homes, and their wives and children were in grave danger of affright and even outrage, it was speedily recognised that the jailed men should be released. This was readily done. Mr. Davis, of the Northern Brewery Co., went bail for the lot in sureties amounting to about £1600, and the men came out—Parry on November 13, the rest on the 14th.

Following is a list of the men who were jailed in Freedom's cause:

WILLIAM EDWARD PARRY, President.

WILLIAM (SANDY) McLENNAN, Vice-president.

EDWARD DYE, Secretary Strike Committee.

ALBERT LINDWALL, Union Assistant-secretary.

HARRY MELROSE, Committee-

BENJAMIN CAMPBELL, Committeeman.

JOHN GAYNOR, Committeman. EDWARD ALMOND, Chairman

Sports and Entertainment Committee.

GEORGE BENCE. FRANK W. SYKES. HARRY PARRY.

ERNEST WORTH.

MATTI PIACUN. CHARLES COGHLAN.

ALEX. HISLOP.

ALEX. HISLOP. ADRIAN (MICK) GREIG.

HARRY SORENSEN.

WILLIAM LENNON. THOMAS O'GRADY.

FREDERICK STANBRIDGE.

CHARLES PERKINS.
JAMES ONION.

CHARLES HARMAN.

FREDERICK ARCHER. WILLIAM E. PERRY.

JAMES BOND.

FRANK PUTAN.

JOHN LORD.

ALBERT HUGHES.
ROBERT WINGATE.

CHARLES SMITH, Worker correspondent.

LINTON MOORE.
TOM ROSS.

JOE RODGERS.

CHARLES FITTES.

DAVE BARCLAY. HAROLD MILLER.

SAM THORNALLY.

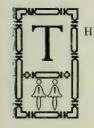
FREDERICK COLLINS.
WILLIAM COLLINS.
WALTER (SNOWY) COLLINS.
PATRICK SCHOLLARD.
HERBERT (JOE) POWER.
LE JOSUAL DOEL.
ARTHUR LINDWALL.
JAMES LINDWALL.
EDWARD (DANGER) DWYER.
ERNEST YOUNG.
THOMAS NEAGLE.
ROBERT (SCOTTY) ADAMS.
PHIL. MARKS.
CHARLES O'TOOLE.
THOMAS YOUD.

ALEX. SANDERSON.
EDWARD BAHR.
HARRY BERRY,
WM. McCANN.
CHARLES PERRY.
JOE O'BRIEN.
ALBERT JOHNSTON.
MICHAEL SARICH
THOMAS RADIWALL.
ARTHUR COLLINS
JOHN HEATH.
D. McKANE.
CHARLES GARDINER.
MATTHEW KULUZ.
CHARLES OPIE.

### CHAPTER TEN.

## PARLIAMENT AND THE STRIKE.

Get thee glass eyes,
And like a scurry politician
Seem to see the things thou dost not.
—Shakespeare.



HIS history would not be complete without a short reference to Parliament; and, in making this, and having in mind the Massey Government did during the course of the politically in New Zealand, we cannot find a Cabinet that blundered along for so many tortuous months of crisis as the deeds of the several administrations that have ruled events we have been narrating. No flash of genius came from any leader of the Government; no bold

stroke of true statesmanship characterised any of their actions; no Parliamentary utterance came from any member of the Cabinet that would deserve to be treasured in the vocabularies of a free people.

Tossed into ascendancy by the jostle of factions and bourgeois parties in the memorable election of 1911, the Massey Government, new to office and power, had scarcely seated itself upon the Ministerial benches when it was called upon to face what was really a national crisis arising out of a conflict of classes.

Constituted as it is, it would have been too much to expect that the Massey Government could have approached the situation from any viewpoint other than that of the material interests of the class the Government reflects. There are no men in our bourgeois Government, or for that matter in our bourgeois Parliament, intellectually big enough to rise superior to class considerations—to decline to figure as the scouta and tools of the moneyed few in a "land of Labor."

Indeed, the most pitiable ineptitude was demonstrated every timethe matter was approached. Never once was a ringing note of workingclass interests struck; never once even did any politician on the side of those who spoke in favor of release utter a word that could be construed into an endorsement of the strikers' position. The reason, ofcourse, was that of all the speakers not one could be said to occupy his seat as a representative of revolutionary working-class thought.

In this chapter we shall depend entirely upon the printed reports of Parliament, upon "Hansard," for our authorities.

The first reference we have to these matters is to be found in questions asked by Mr. Seddon ("Hansard," No. 7, page 624), in reply to which Mr. Massey declared that his efforts (in regard to settlement) "had been unsuccessful." He further stated that the C. and A. Acts would be amended shortly to "cope" with these and similar troubles

When Mr. Massey is "coping" with the "Labor question," the

workers would do well to watch him very closely.

Mr. Harris ("Hansard," No. 8, page 693) referred to the "New Zealand Times" as the "recognised Labor organ of Wellington." This must be a joke.

In reply to a question, Mr. Massey said ("Hansard," No. 16, page 781) that he did "not think it advisable to make any further statement at the present juncture."

Weakness and waiting for the lead of the gold kings was the Government's only policy.

In "Hansard," No. 17, Mr. Massey told a questioning member that his contemplated C. and A. Act contained provisions for a secret ballot in industrial organisations and disputes.

The Hon. R. McKenzie ("Hansard," No. 19, page 224) thought that the concentration of a large force (at Waihi) "had a rather unsatisfactory and irritating result." We all said this.

Mr. Herdman ("Hansard," No. 19, page 225) said "he could not recollect" the names of the persons who made the request for police protection.

A petition to Parliament with names Ministerially suppressed is a political novelty in New Zealand. The same men countenanced and sanctioned the burglarising of the Union safe at Waihi and gave the substance of private letters found therein to the daily press. (They then gave names of writers.) The daily papers published those private letters. Why not the petition (which was a public document) and the names?

Mr. Massey ("Hansard," No. 26, page 18) told the House that the Government "are doing all possible to maintain good times, good wages, and satisfactory conditions."

While he was speaking, about 60 unionists were each spending 20 hours per day in the cells of Mount Eden!

Mr. Colvin ("Hansard," No. 26, page 27) said "the miners of the (Reefton) district had been out of employment for six months through no fault of their own."

This did not move the elected puppets of the mine-owners.

Or October 31 a petition from 525 residents of Timaru asking for the release of the strikers was discussed in the House. Mr. Craigio. (Timaru), who presented the petition, said the petitioners were good enizens, and that they were quite sincere in their wish that the Government should interfere to have these men released.

Mr. Bradney (Auckland West) ("Hansard," No. 32, page 902) did not think there was any room for sympathy. There was no hardship in connection with the imprisonment. What the prisoners wanted to do was to pose as martyrs. The police had been very lenient in the natter.

Mr. Hindmarsh (Wellington South) said the law had been enforced, and be could see no reason why the men should be kept any longer in jail.

Mr. F. H. Smith (Waitaki) hoped that the Government would not back down in this business. The prisoners chose to go to jail, and should put up with it.

Mr. Robertson (Otaki) said the great mass of public opinion was that these men had received a punishment that was out of all proportion so their crime, if there was any crime.

Mr. Colvin (Buller) said the people of New Zealand, he felt sure, would like to see these men liberated. The Government ought to give the men their liberty.

Mr. Brown (Napier) said the time had come when the Government should release these men.

Mr. herdman read a letter—so far as the public is concerned an anonymous letter—from some person in Waihi, giving a very biassed account of Waihi matters prior to the sending up of the police.

(Note that not one name of the writers nor the petitioners was divulged. Is this the way for a country to run its business: to allow any public man, Minister of the Crown, to take any action in Waihi or cut of it at the instance of anonymity?)

Mr. Payne (Grey Lynn) said he hoped the example shown by the citizens of Timaru would be followed throughout the Dominion, so that the party in power would feel that the general feeling of the community was against their keeping these men in jail. The (Timaru) petition was illustrative of the feeling existing.

Mr. Russell (Avon) complained that at first the prisoners were allowed tobacco and literature, but after a certain point these privileges were denied them.

Mr. J. C. Thomson (Wallace) said ("Hansard," No 35, page 1210) that things at Waihi were rapidly assuming the normal, and asked the Government to reconsider the case of the jailed strikers.

Mr. Massey replied that he had nothing to add to the answers given to similar questions earlier in the session.

This question from Thomson was the outcome of a largely-attended public meeting at Nighteaps, unanimously asking for the release of the strikers.

Resolutions were carried at monster gatherings and demonstrations almost everywhere; the voice of the people was everywhere heard in protest against the miserable partiality and unashamed class administration of the Ministry; telegrams poured in upon the authorities from all parts against the imprisonment of men who had committed no crime.

Great and enthusiastic demonstrations of protest were held at Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Greymouth, Buller District, Bealey and Otira, Huntly, Nightcaps, Kiripaka, Timaru, Palmerston North, and other centres.

"Oppression makes a poor country and a desperate people" it is written, and this was well illustrated when Mr. Massey visited Auckland after the release of the strikers. The hearty public reception was entirely absent; the public addresses, the banners of welcome—all were missing; the hall in which he spoke was guarded by hundreds of police; therewas no admission except by special ticket. This in a "democratic" country.

The Premier had to leave the building by stealth, and an angrymob of thousands pursued him through the streets, and defied Cullenand his Cossacks to repeat in New Zealand's greatest city the dragooning tactics of Waihi. These were the citizens of Auckland who so demonstrated their emphatic disapproval of the crimes committed by the Government.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN.

## THE REEFTON LOCK-OUT.

This is the cry that mocked us madly, This is the cry that mocked as
Toiling in our living graves,
When hell mines sent up the chorus:
Britons never shall be slaves.
—Francis Adams.



EEFTON was a lock-out; Waihi was a strike. Reefton is the chief quartz-mining centre of the South Island, as Waihi is of the North Island. The gold kings of both centres were in league; their interests were inseparable. of course. The men at Reefton had public sympathy: they spoke for good conditions, safety to the miner's life, lung and limb; they had conformed to the principles of Arbitration, and were willing to take a court-

ruling on any working principle. The gold kings were very much shocked (commercially, of course ; there is no other shock a gold magnate) when P. H. Hickey wrote his famous article incorporating the phrase: "To hell with agreements," but one fine morning these very honorable gentlemen nailed up a notice before the men,

who had faithfully observed the rules and awards of Arbitration for many years, arbitrarily ordering "one man to work the popper drill," and said in effect: To hell with Arbitration awards: It was then that the men put their backs to the wall, and finding themselves locked-out, an appeal was laid to the Court to make a ruling. This ruling was long in coming, and for months and months the men suffered enforced idleness. Reefton men, it should be said, were allied to the Federation, and Mr. Crowley (President) and Fagan (Secretary), of the Inangahua Miners' Union, had no trouble in obtaining the support of the Federation Executive in their ill-treatment.

In the middle of April the Waiuta miners began to move. large meeting was held to consider the proposals of the Blackwater Mines Co., and prior to the meeting the Union officials waited upon Mr. Morrison, mine-manager, to ascertain the true position. He declared that it was the intention of his company to work single-handed on the stoping machines (poppers), and that he was prepared to pay the miners £3 10s. per week to take on the work. The Union officials pointed out that the new machines were only used for boring uppers, and consequently created a great amount of grit and dust. They also pointed out the impossibility of one man driving the machine and allaying the dust without assistance, stating that, as the machine requires both hands of the operator and his full attention while in motion, it would be impossible for him to use the spray effectively. The manager replied that his company was bent on further reducing the cost of working and that, in his opinion, the work in question could be performed by one man. The miners, upon hearing these matters, decided unanimously:

That this meeting of members of the Inangahua Miners' Union protests against the introduction of single-handed drill work by the Blackwater Mines Company, and we, the members here assembled, pledge ourselves not to work single-handed if called upon to do so. Further, we request the executive to assist us in our efforts to resist the introduction of a system which we believe to be opposed to the health, the safety, and the welfare of our members.

It is interesting to note that although the men were out of work through no act of their own, yet the Law Office declared that it was neither a strike nor a lock-out, and that therefore the Labor Department could take no legal cognisance of affairs; and the mining companies at Reefton lodged an appeal against the Warden's decision in granting provisional protection in the early part of the struggle. Mr. O'Regan (discussing the matter with a "New Zealand Times" reporter) stated that this application indicated a breach of faith; the miners' consent never was necessary in the matter, and that the miners did not wish to appear in the Arbitration Court unless compelled to do so. The Federation, in a resolution to the Prime Minister, declared that there was nothing to arbitrate upon, that the miners were going to abide by the existing agreement, declaring at the same time that the companies had agnored agreements and committed a breach.

In April, 1911, a contract was cancelled on a party of 12, and the employing company closed on £82 percentage money and £5 deposit. The Union failed to recover at law. In July new specifications governing contracts in Blackwater. Energetic and Globe Mines were mutually agreed to, and worked well for three months. The Big River Co. was also asked to come into line, but refused. Friction followed, and the Mine-owners' Association held a meeting. The result was that the specifications were "off," and the men were forced to submit, but at a monster meeting held soon after a ballot was taken, resulting in a two-to-one majority in favor of the total abolition of the contract system at the expiry of existing contracts. Warfare went on at Reefton, the Union men were slowly driven from the field, a union membership of 1100 falling about one-half. The bulk of the executive were dismissed, of course.

It might be observed that the Reefton Union entered upon its agreement in July, 1910, under the C. and A. Act. The reck-drill was handed to two men; the agreement also provided that negotiations should be between the companies and the Union, but notwithstanding this the companies were subsequently known to approach individuals to do extra work and act as award-breakers for a few paltry shillings per week.

The miners of Reefton had already suffered from disease. In 12 years just concluded at the time of this trouble, 98 cases of miners' phthisis had occurred in the Reefton district; there were many deaths. During the fortnight concluding July 23, 1912, three had occurred in Reefton and two more men, both in their prime, were lying in the local

hospital past help or hope.

It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that when the Waugh drill-the Long Tom, for such it was and is-was being forced upon the men, contrary to all awards, indignation rose high among the Reefton miners, and what with the contracting system described by Semple in a speech as the sweating of a unionist by his fellow-unionist, Recfton miners seemed on the verge of falling to the level of the African Kaffir or the Mexican halfbreed, whose laborious burrowings into the bowels of the earth in South Africa or toiling in the silver-laden but cavernous hells of the Western World are usually ended in the fatal writhing pains of phthisis, even before the round-paunched gentry have put out their blood-stained hands to grasp the third annual dividend made by the sweat and the toil, the death and the doom of these animalised and brutalised creatures that the better part of humanity to-day is endeavorin\_ to raise up. These are facts; statisticians compile them; actuaries approve; the working-class admit, but the ruling-class-ignore! The Rotton lock-out was not a very stirring time; it palls beside Waihi. Mark Fagan often said the popper-drill, or rather rock-drill, amid a dargerous area, treach rous toof, rock dust, etc., would increase the d ath rate 50 per cent.! and yet Mr. Rhodes, of Waihi fame, said he could get the drill operated by a woman! Semple challenged him by letter direct to do so, but that feminine prodigy was not forthcoming. There are women doing many things that the workers would rather see them not do, Mr. Bhodes; their pinched features and emaciated forms

have toiled too long in the factories of Britain and under the dear old flag, Mr. Rhodes; and we would see them removed by economic principles as far as possible from the mine and the mill and the machine, Mr. Rhodes.

For a long time the slot-machine of Arbitration would not answer to the working-man's penny, and the lock-out ran along on parallel lines to the strike, but eventually the tardy Court took notice; Labor Department shook the nut; Warden's Court kicked it, but none dared break the nut. Eventually the Court "sat" on it. That broke it!

The settlement appended was drawn up by the Mine-owners in conjunction with Messrs. Dowgray and Fagan, who had been officially appointed on behalf of the men by the Federation:—

(1) That the employers' claim that hammer drills should be worked by one man be withdrawn, and that all mining operations carried on under this head shall be done by men working in pairs.

(2) The employers to have the right to have stoping and all other descriptions of mining operations to be done by contract, subject to specifications which have been

drawn up.

(3) Preference to unionists is granted on the condition that if the worker does not join the Union on the first pay-day after his engagement he shall be dismissed: Provided there be then a member of the Union who is equally qualified to perform the particular work required to be done, and is ready and willing to undertake the same.

(4) The employers agree there shall be no "victimisation" of members of the Union, and that all workers shall be reinstated in their former positions as far as possible.

(5) The agreement to remain in force for 12 months from

December 1, 1912.

(6) The above settlement has been approved by the companies interested.

A special chapter is obsewhere devoted to the levy, but a detailed statement dealing with Reefton, issued by the Inangahua Miners' Union, is shown here, by which it will be seen that the loyal support of workers throughout Australasia was utilised to good advantage at Reefton.

#### RECEIPTS.\*

	£ s. d.
Federation of Labor	2730 - 0 - 0
Inangahua Miners' Union	1523   4   6
Greymouth Wharf Laborers' Union	$253 \ 16 \ 6$
Cobar Branch A.N.A	150 0 0
West Coast Engine-drivers' Union	112 - 7 - 6
Karangahake Miners' Union	100 0 0
Thames Miners' Union	$20 \ 0 \ 0$
Grey Valley Workers' Union	11 13 2
Warkworth Branch Auckland	
General Laborers	10 0 0
Christchurch Sympathiser	10 0 0
J. Byrne	1 0 0
Three Westport Sympathisers	0 15 0
Unclaimed lock-out pay	47 9 2
Manawatu Flaxmillers' Union	8 0 0
Wellington Letterpress Union	1 15 6

<sup>£4980 1 4</sup> 

<sup>\*</sup>Also acknowledged in Federation Balance-sheet.

#### EXPENDITURE.

				£	s.	d.		
Lock-out pay as	per	signed	pay-			_		
sheets				4863	_	5		
Legal expenses				83	2	4		
Hall rent			• • •		10	0		
Balance		• • •		26	5	- 4		
			_					

£4980 1 4

The ruling by minority by the formation of a scab union under an Arbitration regime as instituted at Waihi and Huntly was also contemplated at Reefton. The "Inangahua Times" announced that fifty names had been handed in and that rules and regulations had been drawn up. Its organisers tried to pick out the weakest members of industrially organised Federation unions and cause a deflection from the cause of Federation. They had also written to the Registrar and no obstacle was to be placed in the way of these enemies of organised Labor. The negotiations of the officials of the Inangahua Union turning out so favorably and resulting in a settlement being arrived at was the only thing that prevented this movement from coming to a head and adding another demonstration to the absurdity of fifteen men deciding the conditions and ruling the industrial destinies of a union of hundreds of men under Arbitration conditions in New Zealand.

Compared with other industrial disputes, the Reefton trouble was quiet. Efforts were made to introduce the scab element, and five young fellows were brought over from Christchurch by the companies. These were intercepted on the way by representatives of the Inangahua and State Miners' Unions, and won over to the Union side. We have not heard of any other efforts that materialised in the same direction, but we learn by an article recently published in THE WORKER by Crowley that out of the 500 Union men at Reefton only two scabbed—William Bonetti (engine-driver) and Adam Scott (blacksmith).

### CHAPTER TWELVE.

# THE LABOR PARTY'S TRADES COUNCILS AND THE STRIKE.

For Humanity sweeps onward:
Where to-day the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas,
With the silver in his hands.



HE Waihi strike and the Reefton lock-out were indissolubly joined in companionship and affiliation. They were fundamentally inseparable. It was a true case of an injury to one an injury to the other. Both Unions affected were members and thus integral parts of the Federation of Labor, and in accordance with constitution and rules were both committed to Federation government and administration. The strike being on, the lock-out

being on, the control of both, in the working-class domain, automatically passed into the hands of the Federation of Labor—registered under the Trades Union Act—and the Federation immediately issued a manifesto to the workers of the Dominion asking for moral and financial support.

In the fierce publicity given to strike and lock-out, the Federation of Labor was bitterly assailed from the outset, and hostility to it and hatred of it were utilised to damn up hill and down dale the miners' cause, regardless of the merits of strike and lock-out, and with a vindictiveness and lying probably unparalleled in the industrial history of the Dominion. The Employers' Association and the press of, by, and for Capitalism—and the institutional satellites of both—led the onslaught And in this malicious crusade the United Labor Party was persuaded to join. The law of the land was also pressed into the slanderous service. Thus the Federation of Labor was fighting directly the Gold-mine Owners' Association (acting for Waihi and Reefton) and the Employers' Federation, and secondly the scabs, the Press, ruling-class Law and its Massey Government, and the United Labor Party.

The ramifications of strike and lock-out reached far (few industrial upheavals have so many instructive aspects and sidelights), but in all the happenings nothing is more fratricidal than the Labor Party's association with employers, law-mongers, Capitalist Press and other antagonists of the strike and lock-out. In the test the United Labor Party found itself also wishing to crush the Federation of Labor, and in the design to finish the Federation it helped most energetically in trying to defeat the strikers. Now, in what follows it needs to be remembered that if not technically yet practically the Trades and Labor Councils

were (as they now are) part and parcel of the Labor Party. At a conference at Easter last year (when the U.L.P. was formally established) the Trades and Labor Councils' Federation sat as part of the conference and agreed to its own annihilation, but the requisite mechanical incorporation had not been completed in the case of Wellington's Trades Council in June of last year. It needs also to be remembered that in addition to appealing to the New Zealand Unions for aid the Federation had, when "turned down" by the councils of its own country, promptly circularised many of the Australian Labor organisations, and subsequently sent Messrs P. C. Webb and P. H. Hickey to Australia to collect funds.

In the conviction that with 2000 unionists bravely battling for unionism all unionists should and would be willing to assist in the battle, the Federation of Labor had followed up its manifesto to organised Labor with a circular to a number of unions, asking the same to hear a deputation on the Waihi and Reefton disputes. The Wellington Trades and Labor Council had courteously enough agreed to hear Messrs. P. C. Webb and R. S. Ross, and having done so at a meeting held in June, 1912, carried the following disgraceful resolution, to the joy and applause of the daily papers:—

That this Council cannot recommend its federated unions to render financial support to the Waihi miners as requested by the deputation and the Federation circulars.

Naturally, the rebuff was made the most of by the organs of the ruling-class, and "yellow" headlines and chortling contemptuous editorials were the order of the jubilation. The delegation was depicted as having gone cap in hand to its "hated rivals" and receiving a merited slap in the face, while the Council was extravagantly complimented upon its sanity and so forth. But if the delegates did go with cap in hand, they at least went in the tradition and spirit of working-class solidarity, realising that whilst divisions of the movement had always differed in methods and even attacked each other strenuously, seldom or never had differences prevented a solid front to the common enemy in the common industrial danger. This implied and actual position has been the strength and glory of the international Labor movement.

The next step in the Wellington Council's descent is indicated in the following paragraph from the "New Zealand Times" of June 28, 1912:—

At last night's meeting of the Trades Council, a letter was received from the New South Wales Labor Council asking for information concerning the Federation of Labor and the strike, because an appeal had been made for funds, and they did not propose to endorse the appeal till they received a communication from the Wellington Trades Council regarding their attitude.—It was decided to forward to the New South Wales Council the resolution recently passed by the Wellington Council, together with any information that may be deemed necessary.

A telegram was received from the secretary of the Reefton Miners' Union, asking for financial assistance direct.

On the motion of Mr. Carey, it was decided that the Council was agreed that the Reefton Union had a grievance,

and they regretted that the Labor Department had failed to take action to test the question of a lock-out before the law courts; but it would be inconsistent with their policy if they gave support to any union affiliated with the Federation of Labor. To do so would simply be to lend endorsement to the policy of that organisation, and the Council did not feel disposed to help or to recommend any of the affiliated unions to do so.

Mark well the text of that resolution and hold tightly in everlasting grip how it begat derision of the strikers, the locked-out and the Federation, and a yell of capitalistic bravees. "Recreancy and Treachery" The Madriand Worker branded it, but the term was too mild. Verily it looked as if to continue the struggle was hopeless, and that it would be a miracle if collapse was avoided. But to the third step in the descent to the depths. The following paragraph appeared in the Wellington "Evening Post" and many other papers about July 11, 1912:

Requests having been received from the Sydney and Melbourne Trades and Laber Councils for information of the New Zealand Federation of Labor's mission to Australia for funds for the Waihi strike, the Wellington Council has supplied the information requested. The Melbourne Council, for instance, wished to know if the Waihi strike had the endorsement of the Wellington Council. The following reply was sent, also to the Sydney Council:—

- (1) With regard to the appeal for financial assistance from the Federation of Labor, a similar request was made to us, and, in addition, a deputation from that organisation waited on our Council. The decision of our Council was that we are not prepared to assist in any way, nor can we recommend our affiliated unions to render any assistance.
- (2) The decision of our Council may appear harsh, but we feel that to give even a moral support to a fight that we believe to be wreng would not be a help to either party.
- (3) We have decided, after a careful study, that the American so the of warfare is not suitable in a country where the working-man's vote is of the same value as that of the managing director of the Waihi mines.
- (4) The attitude taken by the Federation of Labor towards industrial legislation has been such that we are now running the risk of losing laws that have greatly improved the position of many of our workers. For that reason we are compelled to refeatin from giving any encouragement to the Federation of Labor.
- (5) Needless to say, we found ourselves in a very uncomfortable position over the matter, but we have to study the interests of the majority of the workers of the Dominion.

In the foregoing we have in black and white the official attitude of the Wellington Trades and Labor Council. We remember that when this attitude was handled in The Madriland Worker, we read in the "New Zealand Times" of July 18 this local:—

The misrepresentations of the Federation of Labor in regard to the United Labor Party's attitude towards the Waihi and Reefton strikes are corrected in the Labor Page of to-day's issue.

We naturally turned to the Labor Page to discover those "misrepresentations." There weren't any, nor was there need of any. misrepresentation could be more damning than the incontestable facts. Presently we shall reason a little with the Wellington Trades Council -for it is imperative that "out of the noise of strife and groaning" anent Waihi and Reefton the working-class of Australasia should learnto be wise and true for common salvation—but must first place on indisputable record the faction taken by the Auckland Trades Council (which by this time had merged into the U.L.P. and was known as the Auckland District Council of the United Labor Party). At its meeting in the last week of July, 1912, the Council discussed a letter from the Sydney Labor Council (which having received a letter from the Wellington body had held over its decision as to giving aid until it heard from the Auckland body), "asking whether it would advise the Australian unions to contribute to the Waihi strike funds." It was resolved to reply:-

This Council cannot recommend the Australian unions to subscribe, because the trouble at Waihi is not a Labor dispute, but an attempt by a body which has the tenets of the I.W.W. as its objective to intimidate a body of workers which prefers to register under the Conciliation and Arbitration Act.

With a request that it be circulated among the Australian unions, a communication containing the resolution was forwarded to the Sydney body, while Mr. Thomas Walsh (Auckland secretary), there is reason to believe, liberally covered Australia with his "views" of the strike and the Federation, one of his letters containing this naked lie:—

The position is such that the Federation of Labor representatives refuse to even allow meetings to be held that are not organised by the Federation itself, and does its best to break such meetings up.

They stopped at no devilry, and naturally enough Messrs. Webb and Hickey had a hard row to hoe. Sydney Labor Council, after a long discussion, adopted by 61 votes to 58 the executive committee's recommendation that no support be given to the Waihi strikers, and i August, 1912, the secretary of the Federation received the following letter:—

Dear Sir,—I have the honor to inform you that the Labor Council of New South Wales has decided not to issue an appeal for financial assistance on behalf of the Miners' Unions on strike in connection with the disputes at Waihi and Reefton, the following resolution being carried at our last meeting, Thursday, 8th inst.: "The Wellington and Auckland Labor Councils having turned down the appeal on the grounds that the dispute is not with the employers, but against the right of a body of men (engine-drivers and firemen) to have a separate union, your executive council recommends that no appeal be issued by this Council." As you will see by the resolution, my Council has been guided by the decision of the Wellington and Auckland Labor Councils, it being our practice to consult the local Labor Council in such matters.—Yours faithfully,

It is reassuring to chronicle that desperate as were the attempts made in Australia, as in New Zealand, to starve the strikers and locked-out into submission by corrupting the sources of financial and the analytical as they undoubtedly were, no other Australian Council acted as did the Sydney one, but, N.S.W. excepted, in each of the States co-operated with the Federation's delegates.

To complete the decisions of the Dominion Labor Councils, it only remains to state that the Dunedin body took no notice of the Federation's communication, that the Christchurch body heard a delegation from the Federation and took no action, while the East Coast Trades and Labor Council (Gisborne) "turned down" in insulting terms the overtures from the Federation. As for the unions outside the F.L., those that helped will be found enumerated in the Statement of Receipts (see Appendix). The Wellington Seamen's Union (W. T. Young, secretary) declined to financially assist the strike and proffered help to Reefton if Reefton would repudiate the organisation of which it was a part! The Wellington Painters, like others, would not even hear a deputation. The Wanganui branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners declined to receive a delegate from the Federation on the ground that "our society upholds the principle of Arbitration, whereas a section of your Federation are out on strike with the object of preventing a section of workers from registering under the Arbitration Act." The question of aiding the Waihi strikers came before the Wellington Operative Bakers' Union on June 23, and it was decided not to forward any subscriptions, but, instead, the general secretary (Mr. Andrew Collins) was instructed to cable £10 to the wives and children of the London dockers. (The dockers were on strike for very much the same reasons as the Waihi men; the bakers once had a strike in Wellington, and were most assisted by "Reds"). Other Labor Party unions published refusals of aid, and the newspapers overflowed with jubilation concerning the "fading" Federation and the doomed strikers.

Having recounted the facts, we proceed to discuss their significance and implications.



FIRST FEDERATION OF MINERS' CONSELLE SCE. 1908.

Back row (left to right): J. Hopkinson, J. Glover, W. Hamblyn, J. J. Snanlon, R. Gruudy,
J. Dowgray. Middle row: J. H. Johnson, J. T. Moltoy, R. Manning, J. Fulton.
C. Fry. Sitting: H. T. Armstrong, P. H. Hickey, R. Semple, G. Newton, J. Foster.



WAIHI SOCIALIST PARTY GROUP

Standing: - Williams, - Kulz, - Rar dle, W. E. Parry, - Kearney, C. Smith ("The Rebel"), - Sitting: J. King, - Leather, - Carroll. - Rogers (who was savagely assaulted by the scabs), W. Hales (Union Trustee, ---, E. Dye (Secretary Strike Committee).

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

# WELLINGTON TRADES COUNCIL ANSWERED

"Home they brought her warrior dead."-TENNYSON.



HATEVER a union is or isn't, it is generally agreed that a union of unions with picked representatives forming a Labor Council ought to be better informed and sounder concerning working-class policy and principles—and that a Labor Council was not prepared to aid unionists in industrial difficulty, but in the height of trouble carried a damaging resolution, warranted the gloomiest pessimism as to the situation and standard

of the Labor movement in this country. To think that in New Zealand our tragical situation should have been that an accidental division of union membership had begotten repudiation of bottom industrial protection and preservation! Nevertheless, there is no excuse for unionists running from unionists in the fight for unionism—a strike is never other than a fight for unionism—nor is there any justification for it and the wanton recantation it implies. Support of those on strike is not only basic working-class procedure, but is also elementary working-class procedure. It is a sine qua non of working-class organisation. It is pivotal in the Labor movement. Broadly speaking, a strike is always a fight for the class, and so the whole class is concerned.

Let us examine the letter sent to Australia by the Wellington Council. In regard to the paragraph numbered (1), it may be emphasised that it discloses an outrageous departure from accepted unionist procedure throughout Australasia, and had never previously been done in New Zealand. "The unity of the workers is the hope of the world" is the international industrial slogan. Wherever men are on strike, fighting for unionism and working-class organisation-fighting as much the begus boss-fostered combination of times called a "union" as the exploiters-that unionism built up in the teeth of fearful odds has always been for the real union risking all for principle and class. The interests of the working-class have impelled the fierce recognition of the ethic of working-class solidarity. And so, from a million platforms has sounded the grandly-clavion call: "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains-you have a world to win." This has become unionism's guide, safoguard and creed. Whatever be the reasons, and however plausible, "turning-down" a brother union in the time of danger and when help is needed most of all has grown to be the unpardonable unionist sin. Waiving this point, however, we do not fear to give the fullest consideration to the "reasons" proffered by the Wellington Trades and Labor Council as justification for as supreme an act of apostasy as any known in the Labor movement.

Taking the paragraph numbered (2), we have in it a remarkable echo of that capitalist viewpoint which has complacently branded all working-class upheaval--industrial and political-as "wrong." But by the luminous knowledge afforded by the exposition of the Class Struggle the workers have been made to see that all action for their class is "right," and slowly but soundly have increasingly thrown overboard that capitalistic morality which, all down the brave trampings of aspirational humanity, has duped and deceived them. There is no "bad" and "good" in this matter, nor any "right" and "wrong." It isn't the strike right or wrong, but the strike because it's right-if there needs must be distinctions. The mine-owners were fighting Reefton equally with Waihiand the one trouble was as "right" as the other. Never a strike but what all the institutions for Production for Profit, and all the societies they swaved, have tearfully carried pious declarations of the sort numbered (2), inferring that if strikers, and the agitators behind them, were not so wickedly sinful they wouldn't act "wrongly" and everything would be "right" in this best possible of worlds—as everything is, of course, "right" to-day, despite the endless robbery of the workers of three-fourths of their product and the ceaseless struggle for bare existence. Bah!—this Labor Council's sinousness of ethics makes us mad. But let us be calm, even in our irony.

Notice that our virtuous Council does not say why it believed the fight at Waihi to be "wrong." Notice also that, according to the motion by it carried on June 28, it believed the fight at Reefton to be "'right." Next notice that, although it believed the fight at Reefton to be "right," "it would be inconsistent with its policy if it gave support to any union affiliated with the Federation of Labor." So, it is apparent that whether a union's fight be "wrong" or "right" the Trades Council believed it "right" to turn it down. We now ask our readers to note that the paragraph numbered (2) is not only rotten working class morality, but is manifest hypocrisy-for "right" or "wreng," according to the Council, a union must not be aided in its struggles against base employers whilst such a union remains affiliated with the Federation of Labor. (See paragraph numbered (4). And, correspondingly, a union which sneaks out of the Federation as did the Zambuk concern at Waihi, is to be upheld in its blackleg tactics. The first is "wrong," the second is "right." Trades Council dialectics!

It is not unkind, is it, to recall that when "American methods" of thuggery were adopted to smash the strike the Wellington Trades Council passed no censure on THEM?

The paragraph numbered (3) is a beautiful instance of unadulterated moonshine mischievous in the extreme. If the "American system of warfare" means that the strike isn't "suitable" in this country, why had the Trades Council supported in the past that which is unsuitable? And didn't it know that the same sort of specious sophistry was trumpeted forth at the times of the maritime strike, shearers' strike, Broken Hill strike, Queensland sugar strike, Newcastle strike, Melbourne agricultural implement-makers' strike, Brisbane general strike, Wellington tramway strike, etc. That's a tall yarn also about the

vote—nominally all right, in reality non-existent. Now that the wages-chasing wage-slave of New Zealand has been assured that his vote is of the same value as Mr. Rhodes', he had better not ask why his wealth is not also of equal value. He would be a churl indeed if in this most beneficent democracy he questioned the economic insufficiency of its divine equality of voting values.

Logically, the argument of number (3) would seem to suggest the folly of any system of warfare—United Labor Party's included— "in a country where the working-man's vote is of the same value as that of the managing director of the Waihi mines," and because of

this stupendous fact!

Paragraph numbered (4) is purely imaginative, if not worse. Nosuch law as indicated could be named in the connection mentioned. Wedefy the Trades Council to name such a law, ask it to name it, plead: with it to name it. If Arbitration is meant, it is, to say the least,. questionable if it has "greatly improved the position of many workers." At the same time, the Trades Council was fully aware of the fact that the Labor Federation had taken no steps to repeal even the Arbitration Act it scarifies and exposes; all it had done had been to try and inducethe workers to realise that Industrial Unionism is more remedial, greater and sounder than Arbitration, and that rather than registering: under the Act it would be better to organise into One Big Union. Those who wanted the Act might have the Act, as far as the Federation of Labor was concerned—though, latterly, as the Act had been construed and utilised to destroy the Federation, a tendency to self-defensive repeal advocacy had been observable, but admittedly justifiable, seeing that the Act had been interpreted to give 15 of any union the power to drag one hundred to twenty thousand under it.

Though it is required that a substantial majority of members of any union can only cancel registration under the Act (and a majority vote also insisted upon) it, on the other hand, is allowable for an absurdly-small minority to coerce the big majority into non-observance of the cancellation—which makes cancellation a snare and a meckery. If there is any risk of "losing laws that have," etc., it strikes us that the risk is from the Government—and to saddle the Federation rather than the Government with the responsibility speaks volumes for the viewpoint of the Council!

We would point out to unionists of the Trades and Labor Councils that they may again, as they have in the past, require to themselves oppose Arbitration. You, who think you are upholding magnificent Arbitration—do you ever think that the big proportion of the strikes of New Zealand in 20 years have been under Arbitration, and on the part of Arbitration unions? Why, there would to-day be no Federation of Labor fighting Arbitration but for Arbitration! As there have been strikes by Arbitration unions, so there are sure to be in the future; and when quite legally some of the Arbitration unions decide upon cancelling registration under the Act they will not relish being dragged back under the Act, as they certainly may be. Why, with all the Arbitration mania, unionists have felt the paramount need for retaining the right of can-

cellation and the right to strike, knowing that circumstances might necessitate the use of both as the last avenue of escape from intolerable conditions Both are to-day in jeopardy. Let unionists ponder upon these facts, and they will understand that after all-on this beggarly question alone, and saying nothing of the greater issues-they were inextricably involved in the Waihi struggle, and that to delude themselves that they were fighting for grand old Arbitration v. the wretched Strike in helping to defeat the Waihi men was bitter and black stupidity akin to traitorous desertion of their own interests and people. hour is inevitable when the unions who joined in "turning down" Waihi will need aid as Waihi needed aid. Economic law will crush Arbitration if the Federation of Labor does not. To sacrifice the latter in order to get shunt of it and then have "Unity" will but be to fasten shackles around unionism's legs that will make "Unity" the shame and slave of the system. But now let us proclaim the hollowness of this fear of "the risk of losing laws"-i.e., Arbitration. For these many years unions of the Trades Council had cone on strike, or threatened to go on strike, and the Trades Council had sided and abetted them. By far the heaviest per centage of the New Zealand strikes since Arbitration have been under Arbitration. Mr. Reardon, President of the Trades Council, had a strike on hand last year. Then, in February, 1912, there was a tramway strike, and on the strike committee were Messrs. Reardon, Carey, Noot, and Young, all prominent members of the Trades Council. The secretary of the latter was the treasurer of the strike committee. Mr. Young was the chairman. Within a week almost every Trades Hall councillor favored a general strike! Mr. Reardon helped to frame and submitted a manifesto to the committee, and Mr. Young signed the manifesto. It read in part:-

We ask the workers not to assist in the making of a scab city and in the maintenance of a scab service. We ask them to make common cause with us. Labor is one.

Neither by working themselves nor by accepting the scabbery of those who lower themselves to work should men and women aid the City Council to fasten upon the municipal employees—the people's servants—and the city character-stabbing and tyrannical methods.

Every unionist must link up against the attack upon unionism, and give no quarter to the councillors who would establish a huge municipal scabbery, nor any consideration

to the deserter and the traitor.

Backed unitedly by the forces of organised Labor in Wellington as we are, we are confident that this of itself will ensure your moral and financial support.

Organised Labor affirmed that our fight had to be made.

or unionism be imperilled.

The organisation must be greater than the unit.

Workers! Citizens! Do not be misled by the press in its campaign of misrepresentation and dictatorship. The present situation is largely press-made. In the interests of those ever alert to the disabling of unionism, it sooled on the Council to revoke its own verdicts, and by its evil power made councillors recant upon their own professions and pledges. It has deliberately forced the fight it now denounces as unlawful and unjustified.

The struggle is serious. The law may be invoked against us. This is the hour for that working-class unity and courage and generosity which has made solidarity invincible.

We endorsed, and still endorse, every word of that manifesto. It fitted almost to a T the situation at Waihi. How came it that Messrs. Reardon, Carey, Noot, and Young no longer believed that "Labor is one" or that "common cause" was no longer serviceable? How came it that the press they then denounced they later used and endorsed and that the "law" they then hated they later loved? The tramway strike was an illegal one, too—while the Waihi strike was legal, right up to the hilt. The Waihi men legally cancelled registration under the Act and as legally ceased work. The men shouting for legal action "turned down" the legal action—amazing volte face! We invite our readers and the Australasian unions to closely re-read that manifesto. It is true, it is inspiring, it is sound—for the working-class against the world if needs be.

During the tramway strike many speeches were made of the quality and tone the Trades Council deplored in its letter to Australia. Mr. W. T. Young, for instance, did not talk in the manner of paragraphs numbered (2) and (3). Far from it—and the papers gave him nothing. He even pointed out the absurdity of legal tribunals: "They had no time for pimps and spies," he declared. "The tramwaymen had not received justice. How, indeed, could they expect to get it from an alleged judicial tribunal consisting of their employers. It was a sheer impossibility." This was uttered on February 1. On February 4 Mr. Young said: "If the 'Dominion' newspaper says much more in regard to this matter we will take away its material so that it will not be able to say anything at all. (Applause and laughter.) If it is not very quiet, we will close its doors just as effectively as they can be closed. We are going to have fair play, and if that malicious Tory paper enters into the contest too severely it will regret it." On the same day he pushed an "American" resolution through a meeting of the Trades Council unions and (ve gods!) the Federation of Labor-that body whose encouragement the T.C. was glad to have then, but later was "compelled to refrain from giving any encouragement to." The resolution read: "That the representatives of the various organisations represented at this meeting hereby pledge themselves that they will, on request of the strike committee, recommend and urge the members of their bodies to down tools in support of the tramwaymen." And after the strike was over, Mr. Young spoke once more-"inflammatory talk" it was called in the press-and threatened to again stop every tram if he were summoned by his Majesty the Law.

Mr. E. J. Carey also seemed to be a different E.J.C. in February of 1912. In that month he got a revolutionary resolution carried at a public meeting, at which he said: "If a settlement was not arrived at there was nothing to be done but extend the strike and bring the Council to its knees. They also wanted it known that because men were forced to strike it was not fair to expect them to pay all the cost." We like

that last sentence. We wish it was believed in by the Trades Council. It is an abiding truism. On February 4, 1912, in calling upon the people to wisely agree to the "dictation" of the strike committee and endorse its terms of settlement, Mr. Carey viewed the employers rather less friendly than he did in July, under the opiate influence of the Professor's Daily Page. Said he: "The employers of Wellington were out to kill trade unions and municipalisation. They were the people out to run industries for the benefit of the few and to exploit the public. In the present case it was a case of fighting trade unionism with the public's funds."

Put in the word "miners" instead of "tramwaymen" and "Labor councillors" instead of "city councillors," and this is what Mr. Noot might have said in July, 1912, as he said it at a public meeting in February:—"The Labor organisations had lent their assistance to the tramwaymen because they believed the fight was not the tram workers' alone, but was rather the fight of all. Organised Labor knew there had been an organised attempt, probably by the Employers' Federation, to get city councillors to change their minds on the question, and so had taken the fight up."

The fight of all! Yes, the fight of all, when a strike is on; when a union is in the throes of combat; when unionism is at stake, as it always is in a strike.

Now follows Mr. M. J. Reardon's contribution to the speech-making, delivered in Wellington's record public meeting on February 4: "It was not now a question of whether the men were right or wrong. Right or wrong, in the interests of the workers the men had to win. Every worker should realise that. No one could tell the citizens at the present time what the effect would be if there was not a settlement at noon on Monday."

Let us talk a little with the Trades and Labor Council of Wellington. Gentlemen, by what method in dialectics did you sanction the tramway strike and blackleg on the miners' strike? The tramway strike was to get rid of one miserable pimp—the Waihi strike was to get rid of one pimp multiplied. Did you forget how all the papers which commended you in June a few months before blackened vou as in June they blackened the Federation of Labor? And Mr. Young, of the Seamen! Did you forget that you were chairman of the tramway strike committee, and talked Federationism, and were like to be jailed?

Messrs. Young, Carey and Reardon, you upheld the tramway strike on the plea that unionists had a right to a say in their conditions of work, and proclaimed that the right to refuse to associate with one poor tool the men despised was of those conditions; and now say as publicly why you "turned down" four times the number of miners who wanted a say in their conditions?

And say, Trades and Labor councillors and others, when in order to work the mines at Waihi and Reefton scabs were engaged, did your amazing idea that you were acting for the principle of Arbitration lead you to condone and assist scabbing as it had led you to refuse financial or moral aid to legitimate unionism? Were you ready to be logical?

Ready to countenance scabbing, and be for it? No, you were too frightened to be logical. "It all comes back to Bodger." The Trades. Council betrayed its cause and its class, acted the renegade, proved the traitor. Out of its own mouths is it condemned. No wonder that as per paragraph (5) it found itself "in a very uncomfortable position over the matter." It shall be tortured all its days by its detestabledesertion of its own professed principles. It sounded its death-knell.

### CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

# AUCKLAND TRADES COUNCIL AND WELLINGTON SEAMEN'S UNION.

"Compound for sins they are inclined to, By damning those they have no mind to."



ND now a few remarks by way of exposure of the Auckland; Council, which went one better than its Wellington colleague in condemnation of the strike, and whose "reasons" were echoed by other unions as excuse, for refusing assistance.

To repeat, the Auckland District Council of the United Labor Party decided that "it could not recommend Australian unions to subscribe to the strike fund,

because the trouble in Waihi was not a Labor dispute, but was an attempt by a body which had adopted the tenets of the I.W.W. to intimidate a body of workers who wished to register under the Conciliation and Arbitration Act." The A.D.C. of the U.L.P. then comprised. some 11 unions out of the 50 or more industrial organisations of the district, and is the quixotic combination which backed the feudalistic-Massey candidates at the elections and subsequently waited upon Mr. Massey to offer congratulations upon his success! The Auckland Council did not inform the Sydney Council of these facts, nor of its moving heaven and earth to put in anti-Laborite Parr as Mayor, notwithstanding that Parr as civic head had combined with the employers to smash a militant and bona fide union of general laborers, and that said general laborers were then testing the ballot-box as a means of winning recognition, thus practising the very policy the Labor Party is foreverasserting the Federation of Labor won't use and be saved. If the Australian unions had known the record of the Auckland Council they would have laughed to scorn the bare idea of asking it for advice, let alone following the advice. But such as the advice was, let us examine it for a few moments.

"The trouble in Waihi is not a Labor dispute," said this shady Council, also staving that the trouble was one of intimidation. Now, the Auckland Council must have known that altogether outside of the alleged intimidation the mine-owners had refused to make an agreement with the miners of Waihi unless the Arbitration Court was invoked, and also that they had declared that the "popper" must be worked

in Waihi as at Reefton. And the Council should also have known -for would it presume to advise on a vital matter unless it understood the matter?—that in the background of the rupture was the question of contract. In parenthesis let it be repeated for Australian information that the mine-owners had themselves established the precedent of "round the table" agreements and had made such an agreement with the Union; further, that the mine-owners had declined to recognise cooperative contracting-preferring competitive contracting-but the men had themselves introduced it successfully and thus enraged their dividendmongering employers. At all events, here are three additional factors of the Waihi trouble which demonstrated that it was "a Labor dispute" and also that the Auckland Council was shabby enough to sink to tacit dishonesty in its advice in the desire to hurt the Federation of Labor and uphold scabbery. We need not here enter into the significance of these additional factors, nor need we here dwell upon the significance of the inter-union aspect of the situation. It has all been made as plain as winter snow on the mountain heights. If Australian unions like to be frightened by the spectre of the I.W.W. that is their cowardice or stupidity-still they will probably know that the Federation of Labor is acting off its own bat, and is as distinctive an organisation, and as autonomous a one, as any of the federations of Australia.

As to the charge of intimidation, what of the effort at intimidation of a fraction of a union underhandedly breaking away from that union and seeking to force 1500 more in number than themselves to rat upon actions legally recognised and as legally done? We refer to the acts of (1) cancellation of registration under the C. and A. Act, in which cancellation the fraction participated and which cancellation had to be carried by an absolute majority vote of all the unionists of Waihi as by statute provided: (2) entering into an agreement with the mine-owners whereby the Waihi Workers' Union—embracing all crafts in the industry and thus establishing an industrial union in the real sense -secured sole recognition of the Union as representative of miners, engine-drivers, firemen and all mine workers.

Whatever Wellington and Auckland Trades Councils said, and whatever the Sydney Trades Council did to shift its responsibilities, nothing shall slur or blur the fact that as against the organised minecwners of New Zealand the gold-miners of the two chief centres were compelled to fight for their organisation, their unionism and their principles. They fought in the manner and spirit of unionism wherever unionism has had to fight the foes of unionism, and they are fighting in New Zealand at this hour the same sort of fight by which Australian unionism received its baptism of fire and emerged unconquerable.

By the way, when Mr. John Payne, M.P. (Grey Lynn), saw that the Auckland Council had been approached by the Sydney body he wrote a lengthy letter to the latter, on July 30, 1912, in which he said, inter alia:—

Allow me to state the true facts of the case. There has been going on for some time now in New Zealand a movement on the part of the capitalistic class to get hold of hirelings in the different bodies whose object is to under-

mine the Industrial Unionism of the Federation of Labor. These hirelings have gone about amongst certain of the men, and in some cases have been successful in getting them to withdraw from the Federation and to form another union with the plea of bringing that union under the operation of the Conciliation and Arbitration Court. In Waihi there was one big union, and by a majority vote it had decided to withdraw from the operations of the Court for the reason that the Court would no longer give them any redress. Later this boss movement was started amongst them, and some 30 or 40 were induced to withdraw from the union and form what the rest of the men were pleased to call a "scab union," which in effect it undoubtedly is. It is almost heartbreaking to one like myself who, even if in a small way, is an employer of labor and not a worker, to find such treachery as that which the Trades and Labor Council have been guilty of in communicating false information to your good selves. I am sincerely hoping that the workers as a body will see for themselves that this attempt to undermine Industrial Unionism by scab unions being set up at the instigation of the capitalistic-class will have the ultimate effect of bringing all unions compulsorily under the Arbitration Act. Then will follow striking made absolutely illegal, and next will follow the Court practically a farce, inasmuch as little or no relief is granted by the Court even at present. The matter is, therefore, a most serious one in the interests of all workers, and, like most others, I deprecate the strike, but when a strike is made absolutely necessary, as it is under the conditions of the Waihi trouble, then let us in all loyalty back these who have taken so firm and justifiable a stand in the interests of all unionism.

Militant workers of New Zealand, brand these councils; set down in imperiable letters of fire their cowardice and their treachery!

As in respect to the Wellington Scannen's Union's action already referred to, there ensued considerable controvers you "bracketing" Waihi and Rection and "saving the face" of the bracketing, and as we shall have occasion to treat further of these paints in decing with Professor Mills, we doem it accessing to handle a confinct of which Mr. Young is secretary. Firstly, the following letter appears our uself:

Australasian Federated Seamen's Union.—Wellington Section.
Panama street, Wellington, June 20, 1912.

Mr. J. Glover, Sec. Federation of Labor, Wellington.

Dear Sir.—Your request of the 11-6-12, asking us to receive a delegate to place before members the case of Waihi and Reefton was read to members at our last meeting, and I have to inform you that no action was taken. A

and I have to inform you that no action was taken. A motion to vote a sum of money in aid of the Waihi men was rejected by a substantial majority.—I remain, yours faithfully, W. T. YOUNG, Secretary.

From the Wellington "Post" of June 24 we "lift" the following, beadings and all:—

SEEKING AID.—THE TROUBLE AT REEFTON
UNION ASKS FOR INDIVIDUAL HELP.
"FIGHT SHOULD NOT BE BRACKETED WITH WAIHI."

On Monday last, as reported last week, the Wellington branch of the Seamen's Union refused a request to render

financial assistance in the cause which the Federation of Labor is fathering at Waihi and at Reefton, on the West Coast. Since then events have evidently been moving rapidly on the West Coast. The following telegram, received on Saturday from Mr. Fagan, secretary of the Miners' Union at Reefton, by Mr. Young, secretary of the Wellington branch, would indicate that some members, at least, are beginning to view things differently:—

"Young, Seamen's Union, Wellington.—Our fight should not be bracketed with Waihi. We are locked-out for not complying with conditions foreign to our agreement. Human life is at stake with us; also the very existence of our Union depends upon the result. Can your Union assist Recfton direct financially, through our own Union?— FAGAN, Secretary, Recfton."

Mr. Young sent the following reply:-

"Entirely agree with your comment that Reefton men have substantial case, but much regret unwarranted action Federation of Labor bracketing their case with Waihi to save their own face, thus doing momentous injury to your men. Will have pleasure in placing Reefton men's case before our members' meeting, Monday, and wire result Tuesday. Seamen always willing help and co-operate with privaces, but Federation industrial reliev tactics somewhat miners, but Federation industrial policy tactics somewhat retard us in doing so.—YOUNG, Seamen's Union.

It has to be explained that in his telegram Mr. Fagan undoubtedlythought he was acting for the best in a laudable desire to obtain as much monetary aid as possible, but at a mass meeting of the Recfton Union, held on June 27, the meeting resolved to send the following telegram to Mr. Young:-

A general meeting of members of my Union instruct me to inform you that the conditions accompanying your donation of £25, viz., that the Federation of Labor be not concerned in the matter, are repugnant to us, and your money will be returned forthwith.—M. FAGAN, Secretary.

Thereupon the secretary of the Wellington section of the Seamen's. Union supplied the press with a lengthy letter in extenuation of his Union's attitude towards Waihi and Reefton. Mr. Young explained that his Union "turned down" a request to hear Federation of Labor speakers on the disputes, and defeated by "a very substantial majority" a motion to vote a sum of money to the Waihi men. He also printed the telegrams and letters which had passed between Mr. Fagan and himself. Interviewed by the "Times" on the subject of the Reefton men's return of £25 sent to them by his Union, Mr. Young said the latter was "absolutely at a loss" to understand the refusal of the donation. Healluded to sending a letter, and added: "This letter did not even mention the Federation of Labor and no comment at all was made on the Federation's policy. No conditions were imposed in connection with the gift." In his lengthy letter to the press and in the interview Mr. Young made much of this contention, just as he had done at the Trades Hall Council, when he declared that "in neither the letter nor the telegram did he make any stipulations" or any reference to the Federation of Labor. Now, here is the letter:

before our meeting last night, and, as wired this morning, it was resolved to vote £25 in aid of the miners locked-out and their dependents, cheque for which sum you will find enclosed herewith, and I would thank you to forward a receipt by return of mail.

It is our opinion that the Reefton and Waihi trouble ought not to have been bracketed, as the two cases are altogether dissimilar, one being a fight against the unwarranted act of the mine-owners and the other a fight be-

tween separate classes of workers.

With good wishes, and trusting the Reefton men will win handsomely.—Yours fraternally,
W. T. YOUNG, Secretary

If that second paragraph did not make "comment on the Federation's policy," then words have lost their real significance. If by implication and by association with Mr. Young's preceding communica-"tions the above letter did not impose "conditions," make "stipulations," and refer to the Federation of Labor, then it had no meaning whatever. Mr. Young's plain intentions were to assist Reefton upon the understanding that it was not bracketed with Waihi and "Federation industrial policy." Will he deny having supplied the "Evening Post" with the matter it printed after each of the two meetings of his union which dealt with Waihi and Reefton, and also with the wires which passed between Fagan and himself on June 22? And the report of the second meeting ("Evening Post," June 20) said that the money was voted to Reefton "distinctly on the understanding 'that the Federation of Labor was not concerned in the matter." It was all very well to "sling off" at Semple and Webb acting on something which appeared in the daily press-but Young had given those wires to the press and allowed them to be used to injure the Waihi strike. Also, either Young or someone in his confidence had given the information to the "Pest," first as to "turning down" Waihi and refusing to hear the Federation, second as to voting £25 to the Reefton men. If not, why did not Mr. Young correct the "Post" report of the latter occurrence? Mr. Young's wordy explanations were a wriggle. He affected a grievance because the Reefton miners had not waited to get the above letter ere declining the £25, but his offensive telegram was read to the Reefton men, and only cads could have accepted a gift in the revelation of Young's impertinent and gratuitous assumption that the Federation of Labor had bracketed Waihi and Reefton "to save their rown face," seeing that the men of Reefton are the Federation of Labor as much as the men of Waihi.

"Unwarranted action," said Young of the bracketing. Heaven above us!-what would the Reefton men have said or thought of a Federation which excluded them from consideration and aid? More, what would the same men have said and thought of a Federation which dropped its Waihi members because Mr. Young and Mr. Mills said it ought to? According to Mr. Young, the bracketing-the making of common cause—the acting as fellow-workers of the one organisation should act-was "doing momentous injury" to the Reefton men. Thus he echoed the wailings of the flunkey press seeking to segregate Waihi and Reefton to beat each in turn if both were disunited. "To save their own face" the Federation, 'twas insolently cried, bracketed Waihi and Reefton. Who said so? Mr. Young. Not a soul in the Federation knew it. Semple, or Webb, or Glover didn'a know it. The executive didn't know it. We didn't know it. Surely the obvious thing for the Labor Federation to do was to take up the gold-miners' troubles as a whole and not piecemeal? It is clear that in a Federation its union units cannot wisely be "played off" by outsiders against each other, especially as they have federated from the very necessity of common action and for solidarity rather than sectionalism. All authorities upon wage warfare agree that discipline and cohesion are the safeguards of organisation. As certainly the Federation of Labor-quite constitutionally and quite rationally—must insist upon its governing body controlling all funds for the relief of those fighting for limb, livelihood, life, and principle against the machinations of the exploiter foe. Any "trouble" within the Federation is a Federation matter.

Given a strike of seamen some day, we opine that Mr. Young will unreservedly condemn in strong denunciatory terms the outside union who tries to treat with a branch Federation by blackening the Federation endeavoring to cajole the branch into deserting its colleagues and breaking the rules to which it has subscribed. The Reefton men are to be congratulated on their spirited action in declining to accept a gift upon the implication that they were treacherous to their fellow-miners and fellow-Federationists of Waihi. To make them feel that the Millses and Youngs were their real friends everything that blurring and slurring the issue could do was done, the Seamen's secretary not choosing to blame the Reefton miners for the rebuff to him, but putting it all down to Semple and Webb-and therein insinuating that the miners of Reefton were not transacting their own business and as a union didn't carry their resolution declining the miserable donation. That is what Mr. Young, in referring to the Union's action, said in the "Times": "It was much to be regretted that the narrowness and contemptibility of these men-Messrs. Webb and Semple-had resulted in inflicting grave injury to the Reefton miners, their wives and children." Mr. Young, what of the grave injury to the Waihi miners, their wives and children your Union hadn't a penny to save from defeat. Seamen's Union that wouldn't help a strike and would help a lock-out only if it repudiated a strike will not be readily forgotten and forgiven by a working-class inevitably bound to fight industrially in the futurewith increasing frequency and earnestness. Was it by way of atonement that, months later, Mr. Young and the Seamen's Union withdrew from the Wellington Trades Council because the Council acted discreditably in rescinding its own resolution protesting against police law at Waihi? We hope'so. As to Waihi and the seamen, what has happened in the former case, and for the same reason, is already threatening to happen in re-



- 1. HAGAN-HARVEY FIGHT (POLICE LOOKING ON).
- 2. SOME SCABS AND THUGS PROMINENT IN DRIVING CITIZENS OUT OF WAIHI.
- 3. SCABS BEING UNLOADED FOR RAID ON WAIHI HALI.

spect to the latter. To get better conditions the seamen of New Zealand cancelled registration under the Arbitration Act, and very recently were prepared to strike rather than go to the Arbitiation Court. Of all the unions outside the Federation of Labor, the Seamen's Union was one which should have had the class-consciousness and sense to see that the strike at Waihi was a strike for the seamen as well as for the miners.

To sum up, is this plain? A strike took place at Waihi, a lock-out took place at Reefton, the Federation of Labor, of which the strikers and the locked-out were a part, took up the cudgels in behalf of the miners involved. Put that simple statement of fact before the unionists of the world, and would the unionists hesitate for a moment in agreeing that the Federation of Labor had done its duty? No. Unionists the world over have learned in hard experience that in industrial trouble unionism is always at stake. It is a cardinal principle of unionism that the unions of the organisation shall be for the union unit in strike or lock-out.

Now put the simple statement this way: A strike took place at Waihi, a lock-out took place at Reefton, the Federation of Labor, of which the strikers and the locked-out were a part, refused to take up the cudgels in behalf of the miners involved. And what would unionism's verdict be? Indignant and passionate denunciation of the treachery! Clearly, then, the Federation acted in a manly unionist way in never doubting where its duty lay. By common consent of every worker in New Zealand had the Federation acted otherwise it would have been seared with the mark of the beast for ever.

Now, supposing the miners of Waihi and Reefton had been members of the Trades and Labor Councils' Federation, our simple statement would have run thus: A strike took place at Waihi, a lock-out took place at Reefton, the Trade's and Labor Councils' Federation, of which the strikers and the locked-out were a part, took up the cudgels in behalf of the miners involved. If it had not run thus, it could not have been otherwise but backsliding and betraval. This also by common consent of every worker in New Zealand.

Supposing, further, there had not been in New Zealand either a Federation of Labor or a Trades and Labor Councils' Federation, our simple statement would have read as follows: A strike took place at Waihi, a lock-out took place at Reefton, the Labor movement, of which the strikers and the locked-out were a part, took up the cudgels in behalf of the miners involved. Broadly speaking, this was the case in the maritime strike and in every other historical strike in Australasia. The Labor movement has always been for the strikers, for the lockedout.

Again we ask, how came it, then, that in New Zealand to-day the Federation was practically left to fight alone, and not only so left, but opposed by a powerful section of the Labor movement?

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

## THE LABOR PARTY'S NATIONAL ORGANISER.

Give me th' avow'd, th' erect, the manly foe, Bold I can meet, perhaps may turn his blow; But, of all plagues, good Heaven, thy wrath can send, Save, save, oh, save me from the candid friend.

—CANNING.



N the three immediately preceding chapters, attention has been mainly devoted to the conduct of the United Labor Party upon the industrial field. Upon the political field the party speaks chiefly through Professor Walter Thomas Mills, national organiser, and the Dominion executive council, constituted as follows: Hon. J. T. Paul, M.L.C., President; T. O'Byrne, Affiliated Building Workers; W. A. Veitch, M.P., Affiliated Transportation

Workers; J. Petterd, Affiliated Printing Trades; J. Robertson, M.P., Affiliated Agricultural and Pastoral Workers; G. R. Whiting, Affiliated Boot, Textile, and Clothing Trade Workers; J. A. McCullough, Affiliated Wood and Metal Workers; E. Tregear, Affiliated Commercial Workers; A. Withy, Affiliated Professional Workers; E. J. Carey, Affiliated Food Workers; Mrs. Harrison Lee-Cowie, Affiliated Women Workers; J. E. McManus, Affiliated General Workers; D. McLaren, Affiliated Radical and Progressive Associations; Professor W. T. Mills, National Organiser; A. McCarthy, Secretary-Treasurer, Box 382, Dunedin.

Of the executive, the Organiser, the President, the Secretary-Treasurer and Mr. Veitch, M.P., appear to count most in publicly expounding the party's position, and a statement made by Mr. Veitch is typical of their propaganda. Said he:

The United Labor Party is dead against the strike principle. It is out to preach the doctrine of political action as against strike methods. The weapon of the strike can and should only be used when every other effort has failed. The United Labor Party is endeavoring to educate the citizens of New Zealand into an understanding that it is not with them the question of the worker against his employer so much as the useful people of New Zealand against monopolies.

More or less every Labor Party spokesman prates about "useful people" rather than the Class Struggle, and the claim has been advanced by the Single Tax element that the party "is not out for a class war." At all events, the tune called by Professor Mills at the beginning of the strike would seem to have given the cue to the whole party, and the marionettes splendidly answered to the pull of the master. Hardly had the strike been declared when Mr. Mills hurried into print to excuse the mutinous engine-drivers of Waihi. Next, in an interview in the "Evening Post" of Wellington, he asserted that "the strikers

in Waihi are certain to be beaten." Then under U.L.P. auspices he publicly lectured in Wellington on the strike in order to illustrate the superiority of the Labor Party to the Federation, and "with a hoary hoard of maxims," insinuated that the strikers had be beaten in the interests of Labor, the while he claimed preposterously that to join the U.L.P. would end industrial struggle, suggesting that under the Labor Party the "blunder" at Waihi could not have eventu-Speciously, cleverly, and equivocally Mr. Mills maintained his original position throughout the trouble, constantly inferring that in some way hinted and never clearly stated the Waihi strike was unlike other strikes, and making repeatedly the point that for the strikers to expect support unless to "share in the battle" meant "a voice in the command" was presumptuous. It was never stated, however, that a "share in the battle" had been contemptuously declined by the Labor Party, nor was it ever indicated that all said against the Waihi strike had been said against all strikes from the beginning.

Professor Mills in due time found himself in ponderously platitudinarian command of a Labor Page of the "N.Z. Times," Wellington, and this book might be filled with excerpts interpretative of his atti-

tude. We select a few extracts:-

The strike was ill-advised at the beginning. If it had been referred to the Miners' Federation before it had been undertaken it is quite certain there never would have been a strike under the circumstances. It has been known from the start by the most active and responsible men among the miners that they were fighting a losing battle. Even those who have opposed the strike, as having been undertaken under conditions which rational tactics could not justify, and for a purpose which could not remedy the real difficulties of the situation, it must be agreed have made a very earnest fight, and the unions which have joined to support them are certainly entitled to the respect of all workers on the ground of trying to do with great earnestness what had been undertaken under odds so great that ultimate defeat was inevitable.

This appeared on September 11, 1912. Notwithstanding its compliment, it bristles, as the article from which it is taken, with inaccuracies. A month or so later the Professor purported to unfold the history of the Federation of Labor and he said of it:—

#### THE L.W.W.

Arbitration was repudiated, and the tactics of the American I.W.W. movement, even then discredited in its own country, were imported bodily into New Zealand with the effort to settle all trades controversies with the weapon of the strike, to give the authority to strike to any group of men at any time employed on any kind of a job, and the row, once having been started from anywhere, by anybody and for any cause. all other workers must "down tools" until the original strikers should be permitted to have their way in controlling the matters about which the row was started in the first place.

Mr. Mills doesn't like the I.W.W., but the American Socialist Party of which he was a member—for he came to New Zealand wearing its badge—has leading lights of the I.W.W. on its executive. As a matter

of fact, the Federation's method of strike warfare forbids irresponsible groups acting in the way alleged—but the paragraph is illustrative of its writer's temperament. As is this (from the Page, October 17, 1912):—

#### THE PITH OF KERNEL.

Under the pretence of maintaining the solidarity of Labor the Waihi strike was ordered by the men on the ground not against employers, but against a trades union, not because it was a bogus union, not because the employers were concerned in it, but because it proposed to register and to act through the Arbitration Court.

Another sophistical evasion and absolutely untrue. On the Federation, here is a further revelation:—

## A BAD RECORD AND A FOUL PROGRAMME.

This movement has organised no new unions, has established no organisations along the line of their original contention. The writer of these notes had been in New Zealand but a few days when his co-operation was sought to carry out this programme, to co-operate in the complete destruction of whatever trades unionism might exist in New Zealand, not ready to comply with these requirements, and it was explained to him that the miners, waterside workers, and the general laborers could certainly be brought at an early day into this general organisation, that transportation and fuel were so vitally connected with the whole life of the country that every other industry was so directly related to these two, and was so dependent upon them, that once control was secured of the workers in these occupations any demands could be made on any employers, and, through the power to paralyse all New Zealand, the workers could not won.

As the Professor never was so wooed by the Federation of Labor, nothing more need be said on the quotation, which is given not in order to answer it so much as to present the Professorial position. Symptomatic of much also was the title of a sensational lecture given by Mr. Mills in Wellington—"The Folly and Crime of the General Strike," though no particular general strike was specified as either "folly" or "crime." In his writings on the strike, the Professor always implies that political action can do things useful and emancipatory, whereas the strike cannot, but the essential forgotten is that both are but means to an end and not the end.

According to Mills' Page again, "quite responsible quarters" have frequently asserted that the Federation of Labor is bound to be beaten in New Zealand. As the "quite responsible quarters" are not specified, we should like to hear from the Professor where they are? If Mills does not mean himself, we want to know if the quarters are responsible and why they are responsible. Going on to allege that the Federation is "sure to fail," the Professor says it is because the Federation, "without consulting others," "adopted an impossible programme." As for the consultation, whom should the Federation have consulted other than its membership? Whom have the Labor Party consulted ether than its membership? As to the programme, who says it is impossible? And why is it any more impossible than the Labor programme? Also, wherein is the programme different from the militant trades union programme

of the international Labor movement? Dealing with the miners, Mills adds that 'their dispute has been absurd in its demands and has been supported from the beginning by impossible tactics . . . An impossible undertaking in a single city and in a single mining camp has resulted disastrously."

We have elsewhere alluded to an article on "misrepresentations" of the F.L. written by Mr. Mills, and so as to clarify the argumentation anent "bracketing" and "face-saving" here treat of it. The Daily Pager said that the principal information supplied to Australian unions was "that Reardon, Carey, Young, Noot, Reyling are inconsistent." Lest the charge be once more made as against what has been written in this book, let it be said we do not bother about the inconsistencies of the gentlemen named; we expose the falsity of the Councils' circulars by the Councils' own professions, principles and practices. We allow the Trades Hall Councils to state their case, and we handle the case. If at the end of the process the case" has vanished, that is not the Trades Councils' fault even though it is their misfortune. Our quarrel with the Councils is not with their inconsistency, but with their treachery.

The Daily Page proceeded as follows:-

What . . should plainly tell the Australian unionists is that the victims of the Reefton lock-out have the sympathy, and would have the support of the unionists of this country, except that they refuse to accept cash remitted to them unless it shall be sent in such a way as to give direct and specific support to the Waihi blunder.

This is just what we did and do "plainly tell." The Council said the Waihi fight was "wrong," and being "wrong" the Council could not support it. The Council also said the Reefton fight was "right," and being "right" the Council could not support it either! We put this quite plainly—just as we also put quite plainly that it wasn't a question of "right"—despite pious protestation—or of "wrong" with the Council, but a question of "giving any encouragement to the Federation of Labor." So, that's all right, if we mutually understand that Council high-falutin' about the "right" is so much smug cant "to save its face" (excuse our laughter). What now occurs to us upon re-reading the foregoing excerpt is why it isn't as wrong to give "sympathy" as to give "support" to a lock-out? Surely it is as "right" to give support as to give sympathy, morally estimated? Eh? One's cheaper, did you say? But you forget that we are dealing with lofty scientists of conduct.

That excerpt ought to be framed. Its implications are such boomerangs. What shall we sav severe enough certifying that people are victims, are right, and then allowing a petty piece of red-tape to smother all their righteousness? As money for its purposes must be as officially given per the Federation of Labor as per any other responsible organisation for its purposes, the Trades and Labor Council hadn't money for the "right." It knew that two wrongs do not make a right, and therefore was determined to have one "wrong" in order to justify itself. 'The "wrong" of the "right" Reefton men was that they wouldn't surrender Waihi. We have told this plainly, and again "plainly tell" it. We think our Australian friends will understand the cash nexus in this controversy, and in addition the "stinking-fish" nature of the fratricidal cries of "Waihi blunder," "strikers are certain to be beaten," and similar sins unpardonable during a wage-war in which the capitalist papers shrick, "The employers are out to bring about the Labor Federation's downfall and will assuredly succeed." As to this shrick, we think not. As to the Council, in a class war those not for their class are enemies of their class.

There was no paper more hostile to the Federation and to the strike during the troubles of last year than the paper whose Labor Page-Mr. Mills edited and which paper he tried hard to boost. The Page-and the leading-article seemed "two souls with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one," in antagonism to the Federation of Labor. In regard to the Professor's conduct as a Socialist in New Zealand it is interesting to place on record how the organised Socialists of the Dominion viewed his Unity Scheme. At the conference in Easter, 1912, the New Zealand Socialist Party carried the following resolution:—

That while earnestly and urgently desiring the unity of the workers of New Zealand, this conference is of opinion that such unity can only be effected and effective if based upon the revolutionary Marxian conception of the class struggle, with the Socialist objective clearly avoved, and the name, procedure and principles of the International Socialist movement adopted.

The party also carried a motion condemnatory of Professor Mills' actions, as had done the Australian Socialist Party. It is instructive to know that all the leading figures identified with the separate and avowedly Socialist movement of Australasia condemned Mr. Mills' Unity Scheme and his tactics in organising a Labor Party with a Socialist Party in existence—Dora B. Montefiore, Tom Mann, Scott Bennett, H. E. Holland, E. R. Hartley, Robert Hogg, E. J. Howard, F. R. Cooke, and R. S. Ross among others. As to the view of the Federation of Labor the following is extracted from its "Report of Proceedings" of a big. conference held in May and June, 1912:—

Mr. Fraser moved and Mr. J. B. King seconded: "That conference instruct the Federation Executive to communicate with all representative Labor organisations throughout the world for the purpose of pointing out the attempt on the part of the alleged Labor advocate, Walter Thomas Mills, to spread dissension and disunity in the ranks of organised Labor at a time when they were confronted with a united enemy in the Employers' Federation. (Sent in by Auckland General Laborers).—Carried. Mr. Fraser said he moved the remit more in sorrow than in anger. He had no antagonism to Mr. Mills, but he did submit that during the crisis in Auckland Mills was guilty of the most flagrant act of treachery he had known. They in Auckland were face to face with entrenched employers, and at that moment theoretical differences should have been set aside. But Mills rushed into the press and attempted to throw the whole blame upon the General Laborers and the Federation. The papers were bitterly attacking the organisation

and Mills came forward and offered his services—to all intents and purposes scabbing on the working-class movement. Mills' articles were joyfully quoted by the master-class. In the "Voice of Labor," a most unscrupulous attack had been carried on under the aegis of Mills. Mr. Laracy thought the remit was a further advertisement for "the little man in grey." Mr. Canham said Mills had forfeited all respect by his tactics. Mr. Briggs said that a man who had written "The Struggle for Existence" could not plead that he did not know the position. Mills must have known that he was guilty of a treacherous action. Mr. J. B. King said he had known Mills for years, and he had never been a member of the working-class. He had played himself out in America.

We need say no more about Mr. Mills. Pity he does not understand (as Henry Demarest Lloyd wrote) that 'in all issues the principle of but one side can be right. The working man is often wrong, but his is always the right side." His colleagues will perhaps understand the "Red Feds." iron hatred of apostasy if they linger a little with the following magnificent quotations:-

If a Labor union party should be organised, with a platform declaring for factory laws, for shorter hours, for certain special advantages to the wage-workers under capitalism, it would not be an easy matter to hold the Socialist movement to its complete revolutionary programme. The only possible safeguard is the strictest possible regulations in the Socialist Party organisation against all endorsements, fusions, compromises, bargains, or mutual understandings of any sort whatever with any other political party regardless of its name, its purpose, or its platform.-From "The Struggle for Existence," page

The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with a smile; to set our foot upon his neck is mere play for us. The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police politicians, the outrages of anti-Socialist laws, the anti-revolu-tion, laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feelings of pitying contempt; the enemy, however, that reaches out the hand for us for a political alliance and introduces himself upon us as a friend and brother-him and him

alone have we to fear.

Our fortress can withstand every assault—it cannot be stormed nor taken from us by siege—it can only fall when we ourselves open the doors to the enemy and take him into our ranks as a fellow-comrade. Growing out of the class struggle, our party rests upon the class struggle as a condition of its existence. Through and with that struggle the party is unconquerable; without it the party is lost, for it will have lost the source of its strength. Whoever fails to understand this or thinks that the class struggle is a dead issue, or that the class antagonisms are gradually being effaced, stands upon the basis of bourgeois philosophy.-William Liebknecht.

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

## THE LABOR PARTY'S SPOKESMEN.

"Wanted deeds,
Not words of mincing note,
Not thoughts from life remote,
Not fond religious airs,
Not sweetly languid prayers,
Not love of scented creeds—
W ated deeds."



HE folly of forcing to the front of a workers' party menwhose traditions, training, and philosophy are in antagonism to the working-class movement is acutely delineated in the Hon. George Fowlds. Mr. Fowlds is by many regarded as the chief leader of the United Labor Party, but he would appear to have as much insight into the character and point of view of theorganised Labor movement as Louis XVI. had

of revolutionary France, according to this quotation from the 'Evening Post' of some time in July last year:—

AUCKLAND, This Day.

In an address, the Hon. George Fowlds explained the aims of the United Labor Party. He said present-day civilisation was menaced from two sides—by the representatives of wealth and privilege and by preachers of the gospel of despair, a form of Revolutionary Socialism. The Federated Labor Party in New Zealand had recently decided to join the Independent Workers of the World, which had its headquarters in the United States. Under the name of 'Syndicalists' they had become very strong in France, very active in Italy, and very active in America. He had heard people refer to the strike at Waihi as a failure, but the Federated Labor Party liked strikes to fizzle, as it left the men disappointed and ready to come out again.

Mr. Fowlds argued that the only thing that would save their civilisation was to form a truly progressive reform party, with the aim of establishing social justice. That was the aim of the United Labor Party. He explained that he had left the Government last September because he felt it did not realise the ideals of true Liberalism. It was not possible for any political party to stand still. The Liberal Party had dropped some really progressive ideas held ten or twelve years ago. The United Labor Party was the antithesis of the revolutionary; it was the failure of the Liberal Party to move forward that had

caused the United Labor Party to be evolved.

The misstatements of fact in the above are only equalled by the stupidity of the references to the Federation of Labor; and yet Mr. Fowlds' presentation of the case for the Labor Party deserves rescuing

from oblivion for working-class consumption. It may not appear to have anything to do with the story of the strike-though Fowlds' sort of talk was common because of the strike-but in reality the adherence "to the ideals of true Liberalism"-Liberalism being essentially capitalistic-explains, and accounts for, the hostility to the strike of Labor Party spokesmen. When the United Labor Party picked up Mr. Edward McHugh and ran him through New Zealand as a "famous Labor leader," it knew that McHugh never had been and never could be a "famous Labor leader." McHugh is a Liberal of Liberals, and we are informed on good authority that in Great Britain he fought the elections against Labor candidates. He is nothing more than a Liberal agent wholly absorbed in the Single Tax nostrum and a booster for Lloyd George, who isn't either Laborist or Socialist, and is chiefly a fiscal faddist. The fondness of the Labor Party for free-trade fanatics is not the least sign of its alienation from the working-class position, What right has a party calling itself Labor to go messing about with bourgeois missionaries?

Another of the kidney is Mr. Arthur Withy (of the U.L.P. executive), who in July, 1912, toured the South Island of New Zealand and upon returning stated to a Christchurch reporter that "in his travels he had learnt that a number of the rank and file of the Federation were beginning to see the weakness of the strike first and confer afterwards' policy, and were steadily tending towards the sound constitutional policy of the United Labor Party." It can readily be seen how busy U.L.P. representatives were in discrediting the Federation and the strike—and in misrepresenting them. "Strike first and confer afterwards" is a wilful perversion which makes us indignant mostly for the assumption it carries of Labor Party possessing superior policy and people, when the truth is that industrial upheaval comes of a cause named Exploitation is in the nature of things and almost entirely independent of policies and personalities. The eatch-cry is of and by Mr. Mills, and is echoed persistently by the Hon. J. T. Paul, Mr. Veitch, M.P., and other Labor Party champions who evidently believe revolutionary politics are to be achieved by beating-under all the manifestations of revolutionary aspiration.

There is never a strike takes place without it teaching many valuable lessons. For this reason alone a strike is not to be despised. Even in the very thick of the Waihi trouble our friends and our enemies, and those who blow neither hot nor cold, were being sorted out for all to see and know. As the weeks passed by the fight against the monopolistic gold-owners grow in severity, and the fighters at Waihi and Reefton were learning in suffering and struggle the everpresent intensity of the Class War. However "good" a case the Reefton miners were said to have, and however "bad" a case the Waihi miners were said to have, neither the goodness nor badness weighed either with the mine-owners or the press. Nor, indeed, did they weigh with the public. To each alike industrial disturbance is bad merely because it is industrial disturbance. The workers will always find that in the hour of their strongest need they stand alone. They must



T. H. JOHNSTON (Standing) AND THREE OTHER "ARBITRATIONISTS."



REV. CLEARY, POLICE, AND "ARBITRATIONISTS."

stand alone, leaving all who will to follow them. And if none follow, then strength comes to those who are able to stand alone. Strength belongs to the strong. Class-consciousness is the hope. A strike is its test. Daily it becomes more emphatically evident than has hitherto been realised that the chief thing the New Zealand workers need is industrial solidarity.

With leaders of the Labor movement, and unions of the Labor movement, assisting the gold mine-owners to defeat the miners of Waihi and Reefton, we saw in pain and humiliation the deplorable pass to which Labor organisation had come. It baffled and it hurt. It was as clear as anything could be clear that if the striking and locked-out miners were defeated the mine-owners would be the gainers and the workers the losers. As clear also it was that if the miners won the mine-owners would be the losers. Thus the class issue was plain. Yet leaders of the Labor movement, and unions of the Labor movement, were striving for a defeat of their fellow-unionists and of their class. They were doing so because they alleged that the strike is a blunder and is obsolete—and that working-class betterment is to come by political action alone. But there has never been a strike that has not been a "blunder" in the eyes of the employers and their press and their Parliament, and if the Labor movement of New Zealand has been converted by the exploiters to the capitalists' viewpoint we have a right to ask if it is commonsense--seeing that in every other part of the world the admitted sign of working-class progress is the universality of the strike. The strikes of the last few years have been by common consent of all divisions of the working-class army the attestation of Labor's awakening in Britain, France, Germany and America.

As to the contention that working-class industrial betterment is to come by political action alone, how came it that after a long period of such action almost exclusively the workers of New Zealand were in the same economic insecurity as when they adopted political action? How can those against the workers in industrial upheaval be for the workers in Parliament? How can those who fight unionism on the field specially its own stand for unionism on the field which reflects the industrial, viz., the Parliamentary? There is absolutely no hope for the workers of New Zealand without industrial solidarity, no hope either industrially or politically. However important the political field may be, it can be made of no account to the workers unless its foundations be industrial solidarity

This fight for Waihi and Reefton against the mine-owners—against the law—against the unions with capitalistic minds—against organised scabbery and financial scabbery—this fight was the greatest working-class fight in New Zealand's history. Imprint this fact indelibly upon your mind, you splendid fighters of Waihi and miners of New Zealand.

As time went on and the fight around strike and lock-out grew keener and fiercer one man at least on the U.L.P. executive grew restive. Clearly the position was the Federation of Labor versus Capitalism and

Treachery. A Federation of Labor honored with the combined and relentless attack of allied employers, capitalist press, Government, and renegade Labor Party had at least demonstrated the irrepressible presence of the class struggle its rose-water exploiters would and would not use and abuse. One U.L.P. executive man, we say, grew restive, and he stepped out in August, 1912, to say:—

I am a member of the executive of the United Labor Party, and, while preferring the construction of that party to that of the Federation of Labor, I am forced to the conclusion that the fight to prevent disintegration and to maintain solidity of action is as essential to the proper organisation of Labor as it is to the unity of an empire. The defeat of the Miners' Union and its disintegration will be followed by the same thing in the Arbitration unions. As a matter of fact, the very reason some laborers' unions have left the Arbitration Court is because that Court compelled them to get so many awards that it was impossible to cover all the workers by awards. Hence the triumph of a form of organisation that will cover an industry by one agreement instead of a multiplicity of agreements will make it easier to get an amendment to the Arbitration Act to allow one union to cover such occupations, having complex relations, as the general laborers, with one award.

It is Mr. J. E. McManus who is writing ("Otago Daily Times"), and he elsewhere said: "I wish to repudiate the awful insinuation that the 'Voice of Labor' is the official organ of Labor. . . . Every union throughout New Zealand must determine what steps they must take to secure the supremacy of unionism at Waihi . . . The cry must go through New Zealand, Unionism is in danger at Waihi; how can we rescue it?" As yet McManus among his colleagues was like a voice crying in a wilderness. It is to be emphasised and recorded for the consolation of every "turning-down" Professor, Labor-Partvite, and New Zealand and Sydney Trades Councillor that the so-called Enginedrivers' "Union," for which they fought and whose apostasy they applauded, volunteered for scabbery before the re-opening of the mines and later on was at work in Waibi, while a thousand and over were on strike. There is no plainer instance of scabbery in all its rotten chronicles. And in the ranks of the Labor Party were two notorious strike-breaking advocates and organisers (W. P. Black and T. Walsh) not then repudiated by the party nor expelled from it. These two stood convicted: their colleagues stood craven.

Messrs. Black and Walsh had from the first denounced the Federation of Labor and the strike—as for very many months previously they had vilely attacked the Federation and everything Federationist in their paper—and in the "Voice of Labor" had stopped at nothing, but stooped to everything in unspeakable vilification and devilish abuse. Their paper was styled for many months an "official organ" of the Labor Party and its open encouragement of scabbery was taken as equally "official." Mr. Walsh was secretary of the Auckland branch of the party, and had been closely associated with

Professor Mills' Unity campaign. A credentialed Labor Party representative, he was permitted to visit Waikino on a strike-breaking expedition and to hearten the scabs, returning to Auckland to glorify the police and the employers and to befoul the strikers.

Next he and Black got a scab concern going at Huntly under circumstances that were too barefaced in their violation of unionist procedure for many unions. But Arbitration unionism, Labor Party unionism, did it feel outraged and was it ready to fight? Nav-to it the idea of fighting seemed funny, so sterilised of all principle had it become. Instead it sent its emissaries to Huntly to strangle if possible the Miners' Union, and to sneak behind the fine union there and get formed a scab union to be recognised under the Arbtiration Act and comply with the directors' instructions. Invective is wasted on Arbitrationists of this kidney, but find for us if you can a more dastardly piece of spying treason in Labor records? With Arbitration unionism and directors' tyranny hand in glove, consider the tragic handicap in the combat! Consider the helplessness of straight unnonism-giving almost extravagantly to maintain two big centres engaged in battle with the bosses—and engrave deeply upon mind and heart the rottenness of working-class organisation, actually effected way back in the past by fools or knaves who saw salvation for workers and employers alike in Arbitration, ignoring completely the bottom truth that owner and slave could only finally arbitrate to the further debasement of slave.

Yes, the Dominion executive of the U.L.P. sat inert, but signs of uneasiness were manifested, the Federation's magnificent mass meetings and propaganda having aroused many unionists. At all events, another Laborist rose to back up McManus, and in public during November at one of Professor Mills' meetings:—

Mr. C. H. Chapman, who has recently returned from a trip to the Old Country, in introducing Professor Mills, said he had come back to a terrible state of turmoil in at least one part of the country. Every member of the Labor Party must regret that the Massey Government had evidently sided with the blacklegs of Waihi. (Applause.) He noticed the men were not called blacklegs, but Arbitrationists. He believed in Arbitration as against the strike when Arbitration could be applied, but he was certain that those who were blacklegging at Waihi and were called Arbitrationists would be blacklegs under any circumstances and under any name. (Applause.) He regretted that the papers had seized on the term and applied to the blacklegs not the proper term, but the term "Arbitrationists." This was regrettable, because it was misleading. Arbitrationists were not blacklegs. At the proper time and when it was wisest Arbitrationists would undoubtedly be the men to strike. The men who were most admired, and who were the backbone of the Labor Party, were the men who had the courage to strike, but not to get the strike habit, and strike wisely. He did not wish to comment on Waihi, but desired to say that Arbitrationists were not necessarily blacklegs, and the men working at Waihi to-day would probably be blacklegs even if unions registered under the Arbitration Act called a strike .- "N.Z. Times."

Meanwhile, the Dominion executive had been goaded into action, and at a meeting in Wellington on November 7, 1912, resolved:—

That no person is authorised to act in the capacity of organiser for the party except he is a member of this Council or is appointed by and reports to and acts under the direction of the national organiser as the agent of this party. Mr. Thomas Walsh, of Auckland, has never been so appointed, and does not occupy any such position.

That the Dominion Executive Council of the United Labor Party definitely affirms that neither the "Voice of

That the Dominion Executive Council of the United Labor Party definitely affirms that neither the "Voice of Labor" (Auckland) nor any other paper in New Zealand has any authority to speak editorially on behalf of this party in matters of the present industrial troubles at Waihi or any other questions, and that all official declarations and announcements of the party are now made through the columns of those papers which have granted space to the party, and are published in all cases under the party's official heading.

Tardy though the foregoing repudiation was, it was equivocal—for Mr. Walsh was secretary of the Auckland District Council of the United Labor Party and as such did organise scabs in the name of Labor and Arbitration, and the paper in question did pose as Labor Party official organ and had been foremost in advocacy of "Unity." As it ever was manifestly a traitor in the camp and obviously a poor tool at that, its journalism need not here be obtruded: at the same time the above resolutions are instructive in declaring Professor Mills' Page to be "official" and thus allying Labor Party principles and tactics with what we have quoted from that source. However, completely bowled out and no longer "useful" people, Messrs. Walsh and Black now started another Labor Party, and their paper became its "official organ." Mr. Walsh continued to "save" Arbitration and was a figure in the events of Black Week, as this elipping will show:—

#### WAIHI, November 12.

Mr. Walsh, the organiser under the Arbitration Act, arrived to-night at Waihi by the 5.30 train. He was met at the station by a big crowd, including officials of the new union, all wearing favors. At the request of the union officials, the station platform was cleared. Mr. Walsh was escorted to a cab by a committee, where he delivered a brief address. Mr. Walsh said the workers had put up a great fight, which was a credit to unionism, and clean, and under great odds. It was a victory for clean unionism. He had just visited Huntly, and affairs in connection with the formation of the new union there were progressing most satisfactorily. Constitutional unionism was regaining its position. Auckland had practically turned the Federation down, every union there was drawing cut except the Watersiders, and that was only a matter of time. He advised them, in the hour of victory, to exercise self-control. They had the sympathy of the country behind them, and if they continued to act in a straightforward manner they would retain the sympathy of the workers of the Dominion. (Aplause.)—"N.Z. Times."

As to Auckland turning the Federation down, it had at any rate turned Walsh down, for towards Labor Day, 1912, at a meeting of the union delegates connected with the Labor Day celebration, held at the Trades Hall, it was decided, by 58 votes to 2, to rescind a former resolution appointing the Hen. G. Fowlds and T. Walsh judges at the sports gathering. This was one of the biggest smacks the scab party had received.

The repudiation of Black and Walsh six months after the starting of the strike evidently relieved and released some of the U.L.P. executive, for Mr. J. Robertson, M.P., was thanked for his subsequent work on behalf of the legitimate unions at Huntly, he publicly demanded an inquiry into the police lawlessness at Waihi, and at a public meeting in Wellington on December 22 (says the report):—

Mr. Robertson had also a few remarks to make concerning Huntly and Messrs. Black and Walsh, of Auckland. On the point of his departure for Huntly he heard from a responsible source that fighting was going on there, but on his arrival he found the coal centre as quiet as a church, and nothing whatever to warrant (either before or since) the presence of the police. He wondered where the authorities got their information. Perhaps one of his experiences would throw some light on the matter. In the hotel he discovered Detective Cox' busily writing, while Mr. Black was furnishing him with imaginary details of an imaginary plot connected with Prime Minister Massey's wisit to Auckland. Messrs. Black and Walsh, he said, while professing to act in the interests of law and order, had been the most disturbing factor in events by assisting in the formation of bogus unions. Mr. Black was a Roumanian Jew, born and reared in an atmosphere of plot and intrigue, and one who by birth and training would magnify the smallest thing into an act of greatest significance. In 1908 Mr. Robertson had sat with Mr. Black at the Socialist Conference. Mr. Black was the only delegate who advocated what might be termed "unconstitutional methods," and the conference turned him down.

### CHAPTER SEVENTEEN.

# THE UNITED LABOR PARTY'S POLICE SUPPORTERS.

And this I know, and wise it were
That each should know the same
That every prison that men build
Is built with bricks of shame,
And bound with bars lest Christ should see
How men their brothers main.

—OSCAR WILDE.



HAT we have written about the Labor Party and its attachments demonstrates not only the correctness of the Federation's position throughout, but the Labor Party's folly and crime by its own witnesses. There is, however, more to be said. We may not neglect to record that at a meeting of the Auckland Council of the United Labor Party a motion protesting against the treatment of the Waihi strike prisoners was nega-

tived by 19 votes to 4, on the ground that the men had been imprisoned not for striking but for breaking the law. The capitalist toerags naturally called this a "sane" view. Then, says the "N.Z. Times" of October 18: "At a meeting of the Wellington Trades and Labor Council held a fortnight ago a resolution was carried: 'That a deputation from the Wellington Trades and Labor Council wait upon the Prime Minister protesting against the action of the Massey Government in jailing the Waihi strikers.' The resolution created considerable comment amongst unionists, and the President of the Trades and Labor Council (Mr. M. J. Reardon), who was out of town on Arbitration matters at the time, immediately gave notice to rescind the motion. This was dealt with at a special meeting of the Council last night, and resulted in the motion being rescinded by a small majority."

Thereby hangs a tale. Mr. Young (of the Seamen's Union) had moved the original resolution, and he subsequently moved a motion strongly censuring the President for suggesting to the secretary that he should not dispatch a letter which the Council had instructed him to send. After a brisk discussion, the motion was defeated. Next we read in the "Evening Post" of October 23, 1912, that "the Waihi dispute and the view taken of it by the Wellington Trades and Labor Council has caused the Federated Seamen's Union to withdraw its delegates from the Council. At a meeting of the Union on Monday last the following resolution was passed unanimously: That, m view of the action of the Wellington Trades and Labor Council in refusing to move in the direction of securing the release of the Waihi strikers now imprisoned in Mt. Eden Jail, thereby condoning the action of the Justice Department

in causing the arrest of workers for allegedly doing things calculated to cause a breach of the peace, the Federated Seamen's Union hereby withdraws its delegates from the said Council."

To do him justice, Mr. Young spoke strongly about "the action of a body professing to represent Labor" and, according to the newspaper, corroborated his attitude to the strike dealt with in a previous chapter, as follows: Mr. Young said his motion, if carried, would not have meant that he supported the Federation of Labor, of whose policy he was not in favor and never had been. As a matter of fact, he had strongly opposed the granting of financial help to the Federation when it appealed to the Council for help in the Waihi struggle. His reason was that its funds could not be utilised to assist in an industrial policy with which the Council did not agree. But the imprisonment case involved the Justice Department and not the Federation of Labor. He thought had the Trades Council moved along the lines he had suggested it would have done the right thing and have gained a considerable amount of kudos.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, it is illuminating to bear in mind that the Trades and Labor Councils' Federation and the Labor Party -before and after the Unity Scheme-repeatedly professed their anxiety to effect unity between themselves and the Federation of Labor. Negotiations of the sort cover a period of years. At the 1911 conference of the Trades and Labor Councils' Federation the delegates declared in favor of a plebiscite vote of the unions to finalise amalgamatica. In his Unity campaign Professor Mills fought hard to win the Labor Federation's endorsement of his Unity Scheme and wished the Federation to be represented at the conference of last year which emerged as the United Labor Party; and a deputation from the party waited upon the Labor Federation's conference in May, 1912, to urge amalgamation. Certainly these persistent overtures do not easily bear interpretation. much less justification, as harmonising with the objections to the Federation of Labor and the hatred of it indicated in the preceding chapters Either the Unity people were then hypocritical with unfathomable falseness or were such during the strike. In no essential whit had the Federation of Labor altered. Its tactics, its policy, and its principles were as they have been—and the nature of them has stood all along as much the barrier to amalgamation as oil and water remain unmixable. The Federation came into being to further Industrial Unionism and to convert the organised workers to Industrial Unionism, and with this attained is ready, as it ever has been ready, for amalgamation on henest, sound and successful lines, as given such a unity emancipation from wage-slavery cannot be hindered, wavlaid or prevented.

Although the Federation has consistently maintained this position it has as consistently been ready and willing to aid its fellow-workers, even while keenly contesting their non-progressiveness. Many a body of unaffiliated workers could tell a story of splendid assistance from the Federation. The Federated Carters and Drivers were officially guaranteed the Federation's aid should common cause be required. When, not long since, the Seamen looked like being involved in a strike the

Federation was prepared to help them by actions and levies. When the Wellington tramwaymen were in a strike in the early part of last year the Federation—after issuing a manifesto to the tramwaymen—rallied to the Trades Council's help, took its place officially on the strike committee, and ran the legal and other risks attaching thereto, gave writing and speaking service throughout, and sanctioned a step that might have resulted in all its members dropping tools, waterside workers and miners included. The President (P. C. Webb) sent a telegram that was electrical. It read: "Federation must support men. Their fight our fight. Would suggest fight to bitter end. It is the duty of organised Labor throughout the Dominion to make this fight of lifetime. Victory must be ours." As Organiser of the Federation, Robert Semple thus spoke at the famous mass meeting at the Basin Reserve:-"The Trades Councils and the Federation of Labor differed in their methods of organisation and tactics; in fact, they stood absolutely divided on the question of economic philosophy. But a section of the Trades Council organisation was face to face with the pimp system in the tram service, and the Federation of Labor had decided to assist these workers in their hour of conflict, to waive all side issues, and to unite with the Trades Council in an effort to defeat the master-class. They stood that day united and presenting a bold front of solidarity on the industrial field. No doubt, they would continue to differ when this fight was over, but they would be arch-traitors to the working-class. movement if they allowed their differences to divide them in the time of industrial conflict. They of the Federation declared: Our class, right or wrong, and the tram men would win because of that unity on the industrial field."

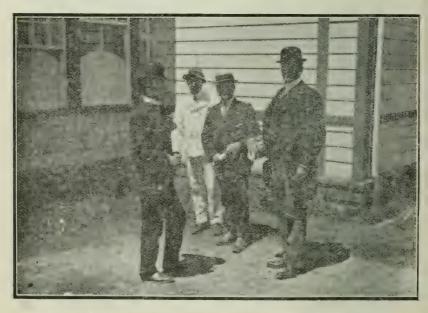
In seconding the resolution moved by Mr. H. Hunter, secretary, during the Carters' dispute, Semple made a similar statement at a meeting organised by the F.L. Semple said: "No matter how they differed, they would be committing high treason to their class and the Federation would have outlived its usefulness and would cease to exist on the day their assistance was refused to the working-class-their class. They were not a sectional concern, but part of the world's great working-class movement." How differently the Trades Councils view industrial upheaval and how they repaid Federation co-operation has already been seen. We pass on to outline some events in connection with the ballot-box, in the name of which the Labor Party excuses all its industrial "turning down." Although continuously and maliciously accused of being Anarchist, Syndicalist, etc., with every connotation of violence and crime, the Federation official organ—with perhaps questionable soundness-at last general elections advised its readers to vote for the Labor candidates where no Socialist or Federation candidate was running, and in the Wellington municipal by-election THE WORKER supported Messrs. McLaren and Tregear. It would be hard to name a Socialist or Federationist candidate similarly treated by the Labor Party; indeed, of the four Labor members now in the House the Labor Party only supported one at the elections, especially doing its best to beat Mr. Robertson, the Federationist anti-Arbitrational candidate run by the Flaxmillers.

Within a month or two of the tramwaymen's strike (during which Mr. Edward Tregear remarked that one of the most delightful experiences of his life was living to see Semple and Reardon, Hickey and Carey, and Young and Ross on the same platform for the one cause) industrial unrest was rife at Auckland among the General Laborers, which Union was seeking better conditions and recognition of itself. Its exploiter-enemies refused to recognise the Union, and in the finish the first breakaway union had registered itself under the C. and A. Act. If there is any point upon which all union history is emphatic and unanimous it is that a union as such must be recognised rather than individuals; but the Labor Party of Auckland opposed the General Laborers, because the General Laborers' Union was part of the Federation of Labor, which in turn was epithets unspeakable. Again accused of being unpardonable foe of the ballot-box, the Federation nevertheless put the Labor Party's protestations—"you must use the ballot and not the strike"-to the test by endeavoring to gain a settlement of the trouble through the vote. It backed a candidate for the Auckland Mayoralty as against Mr. C. J. Parr, foremost in denying even municipal recognition of a union of citizens who hap pened to be also laborers. Did the Labor Party applaud the concession to its philosophy? Did it support the Federation's attempt to adjust grievances per the vote? Not it. It fought the voting Federation with more acrimony and falsehood than it had fought the direct actionist Federaton. And again Professor Mills was prominent, in journalistic company with the editor of an Azeff organ of ill-repute in all political and industrial circles—even in decent Labor ones. Here is a typical sample of the stuff scattered broadcast in and through this "official organ" of the Labor Party:-

The coming Mayoral election is full of interest, not only to the public of Auckland, but of New Zealand. There is no secret made of the fact that the issue is not one of a progressive policy versus a non-progressive policy, but it is one of whether the Anarchists or the people are going to rule New Zealand. That is the issue, and let no citizen make any mistake about it. The New Zealand Federation of Labor, controlled by a few Anarchists, has declared for the general strike policy and Syndicalism (which latter term includes every act of violence, from cutting telephone wires up or throwing bombs or running a knife under the ribs of your opponent). This group of men are not only directly opposed to Labor settling its disputes with Capital by arbitration, either inside or outside of constituted courts, but they actually denounce as "traitors" and "scabs" everyone who suggests that Labor should secure its aims by constitutional methods. This means that they are Anarchists in the full meaning of the term. They shout to the enthusiastic applause of their followers: "To hell with law and order; to hell with the constitution; to hell with political action." They also to the same enthusiastic



CORONER WALLNUTT, JURY, MR. MAYS, AND INSPECTOR WRIGHT.



MR. MAYS, CORONER WALLNUTT, AND MR. LUNDON.

applause foretell a day when they shall be strong enough to rise and destroy society; to glut their vengeance with the lives of their opponents, and to share out all the wealth of the world amongst their followers. These are the handful of madmen who would degrade organised Labor to their foul doctrine, and who, because the Mayor of this city refused and rightly refused to be bullied into disregarding the constitution, have set themselves to try and oust him from the Mayoral chair. These fanatics, whose argument is the blow and kick, dare to arrogate to themselves the right to speak in the name of Labor and to set its seal upon their insanity.

We leave it at that, knowing that everybody knows every sentenceto be a libel and a lie and worse; and struck with the raging humorlessness of the author-fiend who could not see how the battle of the polls in itself rammed the falsehoods home.

## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.

## LAWLESS LAW AND ORDER.

And the kings of Babylon are strong, And their dungeons dark and deep. And the rich rejoice in the rule of wrong And the Priesthood joins the robbers' song,
While the toilers work and weep.

—ARNOLD.





N spite of this unabashed subversion of the law to the interests of the mine-owners, the miners maintained their rigid solidarity. A new Strike Committee, with acting executive efficers, was appointed. H. M. Kennedy and W. E. Richards took the places of W. E. Parry and W. McLennan as President and Vice-president respectively; and the collapse which it was hoped would follow the removal of the executive officers did not occur.

Sterner measures became necessary. More reckless methods were apparently planned in the mine-owners' office, approved by the Government, and passed on to the police for active expression.

Those of us who have read the tragedy of industrial history in all countries know how in the Australasian maritime strike well-dressed larrikins from behind bank counters were sworn in as special constables side by side with professional criminals and toughs, and given powers of life and death over honest working-men, we know how, at Broken Hill and Newcastle, in every strike, official hooliganism has been let loose against the workers and their wives and children; we know how in the

Sydney coal-lumpers' lock-out criminals were released from jail (one of them an ex-policeman) in order that they might be used as scabs; we know how in the Victorian railway strike the jails were scoured for men who would accept liberty as the price of their scabbery.

We also know how, during the mining troubles in the Western States of America the mine-owners imported toughs, thugs, and professional gun-men from the big cities, and with ropes and revolvers for menace, forced public officials out of their positions, attacked and wrecked the miners' halls and placed the miners under wholesale arrest. words of the mine-owners' secretary (Hamlin), addressed to a crowd of hired thugs: "Fellow-citizens, it's up to you to drive these Federation criminals to the hills with guns!"-along with the hooligans' prearranged cry of "Death to the Federationists!"-seem to ring through the years and across the oceans as we listen to the tale told by men who were on the spot when that mixture of savagery and police-organised ruffianism broke loose at Waihi on November 9, 11, and 12.

In that story of Government-sanctioned crime and police-assisted outrage, one finds a startling similarity to the position described by Walter Hurt in the "Scarlet Shadow" during those strenuous strike-'historied days in the Western States:-"The mine-owners were in complete control, owning body, boots, and soul, a governor of their own creation whose brazen brutality cannot correctly be characterised because of the limitations of language. This execrable individual was supported in his policy by coadjutive officials of his own kidney, and his lawless hands were upheld by a State Supreme Court that made the ermine an emblem of constitutional debauchment and the vileness of whose purchased decisions is not matched in all the annals of judicial venality." . . . The State troops were "farmed out" to the Mine-owners' Asso--ciliation. . . . Men were flung into congested bull pens, women were outraged and beaten-some of them were stripped stark naked and, prodded with bayonets, forced to march up and down the roadway before the eyes of their bound husbands; children were mutilated to death, and every other conceivable outrage was perpetrated.

As it was in America, so it is in New Zealand. Men with professional criminal records that would span the Tasman Sea were drafted into Waihi-one man was given the choice by the police of going to jail or of going to Waihi. He went to jail. Others went to Waihi. Hired thugs-of whom Walter Harvey, alias William Harvey, alias Ormerod, was a typical representative-were taken first to Waikino and then to Waihi, not because they were workers, but because they were "bruisers." They were armed with batons, specially turned for them in the company's workshops at Waihi. They were also armed with revolvers. So eminent an authority as Conciliation Commissioner Hally (in his anxiety to make out a case against the unionists and in favor of the scabs) has furnished us with this information. The gold-owners circularised the Maori pahs, and held out inducements to the Maoris to scab, and they enmeshed a multiplicity of half-castes and quadroons and octoroons, but scarcely any full-bloods. "The full-blood Maori never scab." said a venerable chief. "It is only when he get the white blood in him he

scab." And so, with toughs and thugs and gun-men from the cities, Maori half-breeds and tribal outcasts from the pahs, and those physical and moral degenerates among the whites who figure as professional scabs, the companies made up that fearsome aggregation that the capitalist press, the hireling lawyers, law-makers, and law administrators found somuch dull and humorless satisfaction in deferring to as "the workers."

That American strike-smashing methods had been introduced intothe Waihi struggle became very apparent when P. C. Webb and Robert Semple visited the scene of the strike on October 29 and subsequent days. During the time they were on the field, the Federation officials were everywhere shadowed by plain-clothes police, who made the boast that it was a chance if the visitors would ever leave the place alive.

A leading detective had proclaimed: "If Semple comes to Waikino, my boys will drown him in the river." As Webb and Semple walked the streets, the police pointed them out to the scabs.

When, along with H. M. Kennedy, they visited Waikino, on November 1, they were inspected by two mounted constables and next saw the scabs alight from the company's train from Waihi. These marched in procession, with the Union Jack carried in front of them. The scabs, without interference on the part of the police, surrounded the two union officials, and Semple was hooted at and cursed in the filthiest and vilest language. The big half-caste Maori known as the "Snake-charmer" poked a flag in Semple's face, while the hired thug Harvey shrieked out threats and offers to fight.

The Federation officials boarded the train for Waihi, and as they moved out from the station Harvey threw his boxer hat at Webb and Kennedy, who were standing together, narrowly missing Webb and hitting Kennedy. Policemen joined in the jeering as the train left.

At Waihi on Saturday, November 2, while some of the unionists and their wives were in the hall singing and dancing, and some others were on the street in the vicinity of the hall, Delaney ("one of the principal strike-breakers") appeared, and a crowd gathered. Suddenly the police whistles were blown, and in less than three minutes a number of mounted police came galloping through the street. They rode in among the crowd on the footpath, knocking women down and overturning perambulators and attacking men. There were about 80 foot police also in the vicinity, and it was clear that the idea back of the attack was the creation of a riot for the purpose of furnishing a reason for arresting the Federation officials. "Take those four-wheelers home and the mongrels in them!" was the elegantly-expressed order of one police officer. For a time it looked as if bloodshed would be inevitable, but the unionists kept their heads and refused to respond to the police effort.

The principal local gold-owners and Police Commissioner Cullen arrived in Waihi a day or so prior to this putrage.

## CHAPTER NINETEEN.

## NOVEMBER 9 AT WAIHI.

For the path of human progress winds along no summer stream, Look! behold, above, around it, chains and stakes and axes gleam.

—Gus Anderson.



Friday. November 8, the scabs, police-marshalled, were marched along Seddon street to the They deliberately bumped. at the unionists as they kicked and in no single instance did the police inter-They seemed to encourage these efforts towards a riot. When the effort to make trouble failed, the scabs were got into the drags and driven

by police constables to their homes.

On Saturday, November 9, the scabs were driven to the post office—instead of to the mine—and unloaded there, and again marched under police leadership through the main streets. These methods could have had only one object—the precipitation of a clash. The Government, in cellusion with the mine-owners, had apparently completed its plan of campaign. Anyhow, word was passed around among toughs, scabs, and police that a riot was to be made on Saturday afternoon. Later in the day as the scabs went home from the mine, expressions were freely flung about, in the hearing of the police, concerning what was to happen to the unionists.

During Saturday afternoon, having discarded their workingclothes, the scabs came marching in a body through the streets, the procession once more ordered and marshalled by uniformed foot and mounted police. Opposite the Miners' Hall the big "Snakecharmer" yelled. "Come on; we'll fight the b-ds!" at the same time making an assault on one of the smallest of the strikers, whose part was immediately taken by a bigger man. The halfbreed tough was being soundly leathered by the unionist when the police rushed to his assistance. Attack after attack was made on individual unionists; and, as H. M. Kennedy declared in The Worker "Special," wherever the scabs assaulted the unionists, the police encouraged them, and wherever the unionist attacked proved able to defend himself, the police rushed in and on occasions used their batons on the unionists. By about 5.30 -after a number of attacks on individual unionists by scabs, in which in every case but one the scabs were repulsed, matters quietened down. In the solitary case in which the unionist was not the victor, the assailant was the thug Harvey, and the man attacked was not physically in a condition to defend himself. Another miner volunteered to defend his

mate, and when the police saw that their bullying protege was likely to meet a Waterloo, they attacked the unionists and drove them away, while the pugilistic tough patted the baton-wielding constables on the back.

During Saturday afternoon an attempt was made to rush the hall, and on Saturday evening the scabs and toughs and police again paraded the streets until about 8 o'clock, employing every irritating method to create disorder.

#### CHAPTER TWENTY.

## THE RAID ON WAIKING HALL.

Fair Freedom hallows with her tread The silent cities of the dead; For beautiful in death are they Who proudly fall in her array.—Byron.



HEN November 11 arrived rumors were floating about Waikino that the scabs were going to raid and take the local Miners' Hall. Waikino is where most of the battery hands reside, and it was made the point of disembarkation for most of the scabs and hired thugs from Auckland and elsewhere. It was at Waikino that Harvey was first located. The few unionists who resided there were accordingly outnumbered by the scabs early

in the struggle.

When the unionists, 28 in number, went to the hall after tea on November 11, they found a large number of scabs hanging around, and in a short while two of these presented themselves at the door of the hall, and one of their number, named Doherty, said he had been deputed to demand that the notices and cartoons displayed on the windows should be removed within 24 hours. The unionists were threatened with personal violence if the order was disobeyed. Of course, no notice was taken of the threat, and the hall door was quietly closed. At about 8 o'clock the door was suddenly forced open and a fusilade of notten eggs, stones, and other missiles came crashing through the door and also through the windows, which were smashed. Several of the unionists pushed the door to again, and held it shut, while it was pounded on by the raiders, who in the meantime were reinforced by a brake-load of scabs from Waihi, evidently brought there with the full knowledge of the police.

The main body of the unionists retired to the committee-room at the back, the last to make a break for the back toom being the few who had been holding the door, and as these rushed to the rear one of the scabs sent an iron quoit flying after them. Fortunately it was aimed too high, and carved a huge dent in the architrave of the back room door. The last striker to find refuge seized an Indian club, took a step or two into the main hall, and waved it menacingly at the incoming raiders, who retreated, partly closing the door. Immediately after a plug of gelignite with lighted fuse was thrown from the rear of the scab crowd, and fell with a loud explosion a foot or so from the hall steps, tearing the ground considerably.

The police, who had apparently been watching operations from the police station (almost opposite), now suddenly appeared at the hall door, and headed by Sergeant Cowan and Detective Cooney, marched through to the back room. They declared that the scabs said the unionists had thrown dynamite at them, and they (the police) demanded to know who the culprit was. This Gilbertian act of officialdom having failed to locate the "culprit," the police searched the 28 strikers, and the hall as well, for firearms and explosives—and failed to find any trace of either. Detective Cooney, in the extreme of his enthusiasm, even made an exhaustive search among the surrounding ti-tree, with equally futile results. But it never seemed to occur to the very conscientious detective to search the raiders, who, being at work, would have far greater opportunities to secure gelignite than would the strikers.

Cooney brought someone in to identify the unionist who was alleged to have thrown the gelignite, and Carnell was the person "identified." What the police themselves thought about the "identification" was made clear by the fact that no action was taken against Carnell.

While the attack on the hall was proceeding, threats were freely made that next day the Waihi Hall would be taken.

The raiders numbered fully 150, and the majority were armed with sticks and batons, while a few had firearms.

After the police had searched the 28 men inside, and had passed out to the scabs everything in the way of sticks with which the unionists might have defended themselves, and after the scabs had been assured by the police that the unionists had no revolvers and no other weapons, the police left. Then the heroic wavers of the Union Jack again commenced operations. They threw stones, they went around the back of the hall and smashed such windows as were yet unbroken, while their "leader," Best, made himself conspicuous by standing at the door and abusing the strikers in language full of venom and vileness.

The scabs next tried to bluff the unionists by threatening to set fire to the hall. Then they got the fire hose, rang the public firebell without police interference, and the "Snakecharmer" and Best entered the hall with the hose, and, the water being turned on, they drenched the inside of the hall and flooded the room in which the unionists were located.

After the police had, with the utmost equanimity, permitted this lawlessness, Sergeant Cowan came in and said to the strikers: "You fellows had better go home." Asked how the strikers were to get home, he replied that they were big enough to look after themselves. After further talk, he promised that the strikers would not be molested, and on that assurance the strikers left the hall.

Many of the scabs were still scattered about the main street, but a number had gone up the hills to intercept certain pickets on their way home. When three of the pickets got to the Catholic Church, two-lines of scabs were ready for them. The scabs closed in and tripped upone of the three, and he received the same kicking and bashing that was invariably meted out to the individual unionist who was unfortunate enough to fall into the clutches of the scab mob. The other two unionists escaped, after one had been bludgeoned with a scab baton, a compliment he returned with his naked fist.

Next morning, November 12, work was suspended at Waikino (just as it was suspended at Waiki—the attack was systematised), and the scabs, having collected for weapons every available iron bar, scoured the hills for unionists. The police emulated Justice: they were officially blind. A howling, screaming mob surrounded the local secretary's house, where four pickets had entered. They demanded that the pickets should leave the town, and threatened that otherwise they would be "dealt with." These four pickets were eventually escorted out of the town by the company's officials!

A Waikino picket went to Waihi on November 12 by the early train, to notify the union of the Waikino outrage. He found a similar condition of things there. A mob of 50 or more scabs received him at the railway station, and assaulted and maltreated him. He escaped into an adjoining residence, and the scabs then went and brought the police. alleging that he had a revolver. Two policemen entered the house, arrested the unionist, searched him for firearms and found that he had no weapon of any kind, then made him walk with them to the police station, holding and twisting his hands, and allowing the scabs to attack and strike him all the way. At the station he was confronted with some trivial and foundationless charge, and finally the police, having carried their support of organised lawlessness so far, the unionist was kicked out among the scabs once more. He got to a livery stable, took a horse therefrom (without permission), and rode through his assailants at full speed, both police and scabs dealing him blows with bludgeons and batons as he passed. Near the hospital he encountered another mob, who also attacked him with batons and sticks, and fired revolver shots after him as he galloped off. Meeting a friend, the picket sent the horse back to. its owner at Waihi, and proceeded across country on foot. In the meantime the company's telephones were being worked, and information was sent through to the Waikino office concerning the fleeing picket. A mounted contingent was thereupon sent out to intercept him, but this. expedition was not successful.

A Waikino picket (H. A. Noakes), who lived with his aged mother, was on the evening of November 12 ordered to leave Waikino within 24 hours. He declared that he would not obey the order, and promptly shut the door in the face of the scab messenger. Some time after they had gone to bed, the picket's mother awoke almost choking with smoke. Someone had set fire to one corner of the house, which was in flames, and which the inmates only narrowly succeeded in getting; under.

#### CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE.

## NOVEMBER 11 AT WAIHI.

The sun, which in thy children's sight hath dawned—
This mighty meteor, yet to be more grand—
Shines through the vapors of a bloody sky:
It is the generous Sun of Liberty.
—DELAYIGNE.



N Monday morning, November 11, the police again drove the scabs to the post office, and there they were again unloaded, formed into procession, and, police-marshalled, marched along Seddon street, bumping unionists when they met them. They did not enter the mine works, but passed on. After they had gone some distance, a shift boss named Wotherspoon shouted: "Turn round here, boys!" They imme-

diately turned and marched back to where a few unionists were quietly standing. Here the big Maori half-caste (the "Snakecharmer") deliberately spat in the face of one of the unionists. A mounted constable called to the Maori: "Get to the b—d; he's there!" The Maori rushed Elsegood, who proved one too many for the tough, the latter measuring his length on the roadway. Scabs and police took a hand when their champion was going under. And, although it was admitted by the police themselves that Elsegood was the attacked party, and although the only two police witnesses placed in the box declared they would have done as Elsegood did had they been in his place, still the Massey Government prosecuted Elsegood and asked the S.M. to fine him or send him to jail.

Scabs and police and toughs then appear to have set out on a determined effort to do big things in the way of riot. One man ran down the street to avoid injury from the police horses, and a mounted constable who galloped after him shouted to some of the scabs to "Trip the b——d up!"

In the narrative of Herb. Kennedy, printed in The Worker "Special," the methods employed by police and scabs were graphically described.

"Here's that b——d of a Conrick; deal it out to him!" shouted a uniformed policeman, and six scabs at once set on Conrick, who held his own until overpowered by numbers. Then he ran and while running Gray (vice-president of the scab union) flung a billy of tea at him. As Conrick ran, he was struck at by one of the toughs, and losing his hat, fell in trying to recover it. When he fell one of the scabs brutally kicked him. He got up and knocked his assailant down, and started to runagain, when the ex-pugilist tough made an attack on him, but was knocked down by Conrick. The tough then produced a revolver and followed Conrick, presenting the revolver at his ear and kicking him at

the same time. The police were riding by the side of the tough, and in no way interfered. On the contrary, they encouraged him. At Meehan's stables, Conrick fainted from the effects of the savage treatment received. When he recovered consciousness he was being brutally kicked in the ribs by a policeman.

Further up the street a revolver was fired by one of the toughs immediately behind Phil Marks, and although the police were thick in the vicinity, they conveniently refused to see anything. Women who were standing quietly looking on were insulted by the toughs, and had billies of tea thrown over them.

This started a general melec, and there were fights everywhere, the scabs and toughs operating under police control and with police assistance. The police singled out the unionists and separated them from the crowd so that they might be individually attacked by the toughs. The police carried riding crops, which they freely used on the unionists. The invariable police cry was: "Come on; here's one of the b—ds!"

Oliver Noakes was well known as a prominent unionist. In company with 20 or 30 other strikers, he was in the street on November 11, and when the scabs commenced to march they shifted across the road. Commissioner Cullen said to them: "Hello, are you going over to hide behind the women?" and when they retorted that there was no need for them to do that, he replied: "It looks like it, anyway!" The police, however, marched the scabs right up the street past where the unionists were, and as they went past they were calling the strikers all sorts of names. The police made no attempt to arrest any of the scabs for calling out or for the vile language used. After the attack on Elsegood, the scabs broke away, and came down the street, led by 16 mounted police, who, swinging their hunting crops, galloped through the small band of strikers, scattering them all over the place. The scabs were following up behind. They knocked Charley Gore down, and one or two kicked him as they were coming past. Gore was left lying on the street unconscious. "The crowd then approached me, with Delaney in the lead," said Noakes. "Delaney said: 'Here's the b--- man I am looking for.' He made a swing at me with his left. He missed me, and I then struck him and knocked him down and out. About 20 or 30 of the scabs closed in on me, and kicked me and punched me. 1 remember saying, 'For God's sake, give me a chance.' Then the crowd seemed to disperse, and I got up on my feet."

Noakes escaped down an alley-way, and seeing Police Commissioner Cullen and Constable Skinner, he stopped, concluding he would be safe. His sworn statement concerning what then happened reads: "Skinner said to the scabs: T'll take care of him, boys.' Skinner was on horseback. Commissioner Cullen was with him. Cullen was on foot. He pushed me down a lane, Skinner following on horseback. Skinner said: "You have been talking about wrestling me. You b—— mongrel, you could not fight or wrestle anything.' I said: 'I don't want to fight, Skinner, or wrestle either.' He then made a hit at me with the buttend of his hunting-crop, but missed. Then Commissioner Cullen struck me on the mouth with his fist, and sprang at my back. I was pushed

on to my knees. Cullen said to Skinner: "Come on, Skinner, we will teach him whether he can wrestle." I put down my head, and threw Cullen, and took to my heels. As a result of the blow from Cullen, I had to get three stitches put in by Dr. Hyde. I told Dr. Hyde that Cullen had hit me. I also told Dr. Hyde what happened in the lane. The doctor said he could hardly believe it. I attended a committee meeting subsequently, and told them what had occurred. As the blood was flowing freely from my mouth, I had to leave the meeting."

The statement proceeds that after Noakes got home, word was brought to him by Mr. Curtis that he was wanted at the Miners' Hall. When he reached there, he found Commissioner Cullen and Sergeant McKinnon waiting for him. Cullen said: "I have come here to see you. I want you to apologise for making malicious statements about me. I helped you out of the scrape you got in, and this is the way you treat me. Don't you know that you are telling lies?" When Noakes insisted that his statement was correct, Cullen said he would force the lie down Noakes's throat.

Going to the police station later on, several of the police who passed him called Noakes "a b—— waster," and told him he only got what he deserved, and suggested that he ought to have got more.

After the raid on the hall, the murder of Evans by the scabs on Tuesday, and the ordering out of the unionists, Mr. Noakes left Waihi. "I rode through the bush to Karangahake," he declares, "but on arrival there I was ordered to leave by the policeman. The policeman said I was a b—— loafer, and I was not going to get any shelter there."

Somewhat similar experiences befel other unionists. Police and scabs appeared to be operating an organised plan of campaign. Whenever a unionist was attacked and successfully defended himself, the police came to the assistance of the offending scab or scabs.

After the general melee on Monday, scabs and police went round in a body to the Miners' Hall, and one of the toughs deliberately smashed a window, the police viewing the deed with apparent approval.

Also, on Monday afternoon, Commissioner Cullen visited the Union office, and asked the Union Executive to call off the pickets for that afternoon and Tuesday morning. This the Executive eventually agreed to do, hoping thus to induce the police and the scabs to disclose their future line of policy.

Some days earlier a police officer (who incidentally remarked, as Evans rode past on his bike, that "that b—— ought to be shot") had told two ladies, in no way connected with the Federation of Labor, that it was only a matter of time when the "Arbitrationists" would have the Miners' Hall; and it is, moreover, a significant fact that a visitor-from Karangahake, while in Seddon street, Waihi, on November 11, stood by a group of business people, "Arbitrationists," and police, whowere discussing strike matters, and, among other things, heard theremark: "The strike will be over in a day or two, when the Arbitrationists have captured the hall."

On the Monday (November 11) a unionist was chased into Snell's butcher's shop. Snell slammed the shop door, and the crowd and police demanded that — come out and go home. Snell refused to let him leave, and kept him in his home. Because of this Snell was visited by the scabs later on and given 48 hours to get out of the town.

When Night flung its gloomy shades like a mantle of blackness over the hill-sentried mining town on November 11, none dreamed of the blacker to-morrow that was to behold indelibly written in red blood into New Zealand industrial history a shuddering story of Government-sanctioned crime and police-organised outrage.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO.

# WAIHI AND ITS BLOOD-RED TRAGEDY.

"Through all the ages of that blood-red tragedy that men call history, the milestones that have marked the highway of human progression have been the jails and the glibbets of the ruling class; and the bleaching bones of men whose love of freedom led them to revolt against the rule of Wrong have whitened the spaces in between."—H. E. HOLLAND (to the jury at Albury).



HE general body of pickets having been called off at Commissioner Cullen's request, the way was open for a move on the part of the scabs and police towards dealing the unionists a smashing blow.

Threats had previously been made that the hall would be raided. Indeed, an attempt had been made to raid the hall on November 9. The Auckland "Weekly Graphic" of November 20 printed a photo.

of some of the scabs who made the attempt—a photo of which this book presents a reprint. There had been further threats that the hall would be burned down. Because of these and similar facts and threats, the hall was picketed nightly—two or three unionists generally remaining on the premises. The pickets who guarded the hall on the evening of November 11 were Arthur Doyle, Murphy and Henry Barfoot. Murphy left early next morning, and shortly after 6 o'clock F. G. Evans and others came to relieve the night pickets.

At about 7 o'clock the brakes, with police for scab-drivers, were driven into Rosemont road, and there—opposite the post office—the scabs and toughs, hired thugs (uniformed and otherwise) and half-caste Maoris with the primal savage instinct predominating, were unloaded as a preliminary to the organised onslaught that was to culminate in murder.

It afterwards transpired that the mine works had been closed down for the day both at Waihi and Waikino, and the scabs given the day off—clear proof, if proof were needed, that the mine-owners were also parties to the prearranged outrage.

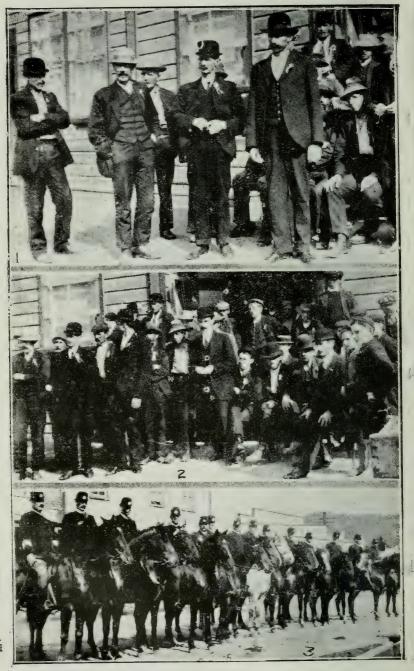
Forming into procession in Rosemont road, the attacking party -many of whom wore their "best" clothes-marched into Seddon, street, deliberately crossed from the right to the left side of the streeton which the Miners' Hall stands. The four or five women who were standing outside the hall were persuaded to go inside. Only two men (Richards and Southey) remained outside when the organised attacking party arrived; and, without any word of provocation being spoken, these were set upon and assaulted, the leaders of their assailants being H. Bostock and the thug Harvey. Southey escaped into the hall, and Richards into the street. The hall was almost immediately attacked, and efforts were made to drag open the door-which opened outward. At the head of the raiders were men who were prominent in the attack on the Waikino Hall the night before, and who had there declared that the Waihi Hall was to be taken. Harvey carried a baton, and one of the police witnesses in the subsequent proceedings described how he hammered on the hall door with it. At last the toughs succeeded in getting the door open. "We opened it!" said Thomas Henry Johnston, one of the principal witnesses-since flung into Avondale Asylum by the police, and since, also, an escapee from that asylum. After the door was forced a shot was fired—from outside by one of the raiding scabs, say the women who were inside the hall; from the inside by the unionists, say the toughs and police. It has also been said by the police witnesses that Evans fired several shots; and by the women who were in the hall at the time that Evans did not fire—that he had no revolver when they saw him. But, even if every word of the police witnesses were true, even if Evans really had a revolver, if he really had fired it at that organised, police-countenanced mob of housebreakers, law-violators, and would-be murderers-indeed, if he had shot the ringleaders dead as they broke into the hall on that morning, he would have only been doing what even the capitalist law gives every man the right to do, i.e., protect his own property from invasion, his own person from violence and murder.

The police and police-organised toughs having smashed into the Miners' Hall, without warrant and without reason, the seven or eight men and women inside fled for their lives—fled with 200 or 300 shrieking ruffians in pursuit. Never a hand did the police lift to stay that tornado of criminality. Never a tough, never a scab, did they attempt to arrest. On the other hand, every shred of inquest and police court evidence makes it clear that the police aided and encouraged the raiders.

On the head of Frederick George Evans—described by the police themselves as quiet, unassuming and undemonstrative—the central force of that drunken fury of death and of unloosened hell happened to fall. Evans was hunted by police and scab law-breakers alike. Constable Gerald Wade, who invaded the Miners' Hall almost lide by side with



TOP.—HARVEY, ALIAS ORMEROD, AND TWO "ARBITRATIONISTS." BOTTOM.—POLICE IN FRONT OF UNION HALL AFTER RAID.



1. RUDD, GRAY, FARRELL, AND OTHERS.

1. RUDD, GRAY, FARRELL, AND OTHERS.
2. THOMAS WALSH AND SCAES IN FRONT OF HALL AFTER RAIP.

3. SOME OF "MASSEY'S COSSACKS" IN WAIH!.

the notorious Harvey, openly confessed that he drew his baton and menaced Evans with it before Evans had made any attempt to fireand apparently, therefore, before anything had been done to call for the use of the baton. Wade according to his own evidence did not even call upon Evans to stand. He struck him down with the brutal police bludgeon as he ran-struck him to earth without a single note of warning. And (as the tragedy was seen by Mrs. Sorensen, clearest of all the witnesses)-although Evans had no revolver and fired no shotas he lay there, bludgeoned into insensibility, a frantic, screaming mob of scabs, police and toughs came rushing through and around the hall, and one of the toughs struck the dying man across the head or face with a baton, while the others kicked and assaulted himkicked and hit and mauled him as he lay with the red of his good young blood dyeing the sward and the brave life that had throbbed triumphant slipping into the shadows of death's eternity. Harvey himself afterwards proudly declared that he had gripped Evans by the throat as he lay on the ground. A police constable swore that he "dragged" Harvey off Evans.

In the meantime, Wade had run on after striking Evans down—he was on declining ground, and as the scabs attacked Evans, the women screamed: "The brutes are kicking an insensible man!" Then Wade turned partly round, and as he did so a shot was fired from the main body of scabs; and it was this shot that struck Wade.

Coroner Wallnutt, or his substitute, writing in "Auckland Star" of November 14, placed it on record that "before he fell, the constable [Wade] clubbed Evans, who was afterwards very severely man-handled by the infuriated crowd. . . . ."

Constable Wade himself, interviewed for the same paper of the same date by Coroner Wallnutt or his substitute, after having related how he struck Evans down, declared: "Then the crowd took a hand."

In its issue of November 12, the Waihi "Daily Telegraph" (enthusiastic supporter of the raiders) said: "As soon as the crowd knew Wade had been shot, and before further police could arrive, he [Evans] was badly handled, the police having the greatest difficulty in keeping them [the toughs] off. . . . Evans was dreadfully knocked about. His face was cut in several places, and his condition was such that he had to be carried by constables to the police station."

After the police had dragged Harvey away from Evans, Harvey produced a revolver from his own pocket, and handed it over to the police, intimating that he had taken it out of Evans' hand. This was the revolver that was exhibited in court as belonging to Evans, and which Evans' widow positively swore was never in his possession.

The fatally-injured unionist was dragged to his feet, and searched by the police, and the toughs, having sated their murder-lust so far as Evans was concerned, sought fresh victims. Walter P. Waddell, flying for his life, was fired at. Arthur Doyle, seeking refuge from the murderers in Dr. Craig's house, was attacked and kicked by the toughs. He pointed a revolver at them to scare them off; and for this act of self-defence, he was, a week later, sent to jail for two months. Among

Doyle's assailants was once more the incomparable thug Harvey. After Doyle was disarmed by the police, who came on the scene in the rear of the scabs, the crowd of ruffians once again attacked him and battered him so that next morning he could scarcely move, and his eyes were so badly bashed that he could hardly see. Three weeks afterward he was still suffering from the effects of the assault, and he told the court that one of the police (apparently an exception) had a great struggle to get the baton from one of the scabs who was attempting to bludgeon him.

After Evans was batoned, after Harvey had gripped him by the throat, after the thugs had battered and booted and otherwise maltreated him, after the policeman had kicked him, unconscious and dying, he was got to the police station—how no one seems to know. At the station he was placed in a chair and left there—unconscious. A little later he was removed to a police cell and dumped like a dog on the bare, boarded floor, with not even a blanket under him, not even a pillow under his head—apparently flung there with the most callous disregard; and there he was left for an hour and a-half, his chances of life diminishing with every vanishing second, while the three doctors were all attending to the comparatively slightly injured policeman at the hospital.

Evans was removed to the hospital some hours after he had been struck down, and he died without regaining consciousness—died there in the morning of his manhood, a victim to the thuggery of capitalism, a victim to the lawlessness of the law!

Never a whirling sun that travels the uncharted roadways of space has glared the scene of a more indescribable crime. Never a star that shines from the ether of God has hurled its far-flung rays upon a supremer tragedy.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE.

# BLACK TUESDAY AND AFTER.

Where Right is crushed by force,
And Manhood is stricken dead—
There dwelleth the ancient curse,
And the blood on the earth is red.
—JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.



F the evidence given by H. Bostock (of the scab "union") at one stage of the Waihi Police Court cases was true, while Evans was being batoned and kicked to death, and while Doyle was being murderously assaulted and maltreated (or very shortly after), the police, with Commissioner Cullen in command, were engaged in smashing in the door of the office of the Miners' Union—although they knew where to find

the secretary, and could have procured the key within half an hour. Having burglariously effected an entry into the office, the police, with the aid of certain scabs, proceeded to drill and chisel open the safe in which the Union money was kept. The key of the safe they also could have easily procured from the secretary. But they were apparently feverishly eager to lay their hands on matter that would warrant throwing the Federation officials into jail. Possibly Mr. Cullen (or maybe Mr. Massey) had wildly hoped or dreamed that firearms or explosives would be found locked up in the safe. Whatever their hopes or dreams may have been, they were rudely shattered; for never an explosive, never a revolver, never an incriminating document lay among the property plundered on November 12. The safe was damaged beyond possibility of repair. We do not know whether the work was done by a police amateur or by one of the professional criminals employed by the mine-owners as strike-breakers. Letters were stolen—the police were parties to the thefts—and with a few notable exceptions the capitalist newspapers, shricking day by day for the preservation of the rights of private property, received the stolen goods and made use of The "Auckland Star" (whose ordinary correspondent at Waihi was Coroner Wallnutt) printed them. If the police performed that housebreaking, safe-burglarising feat without a warrant (and we understand they had no warrant), they were acting in violation of every law. If they had a warrant, the fact would constitute added and irrefutable proof that the outrage was premeditated, Government-sanctioned, and police-organised. Those responsible for the work were either criminal law-breakers or parties to a most diabolical conspiracy. Having aided the toughs and scabs to forcibly seize the hall, the police of course permitted them to remain in possession of it. Meetings were held. with the chief scab presiding. The Mayor and other "prominent citizens," including at least one clergyman, fraternised with the law-breaking scabs and thugs on whose souls the guilt of murder rested, and made speeches that were complimentary and eulogistic of the abominable work that had been perpetrated. A list of citizens to be driven out of Waihi was read and approved. The Police Commissioner and the police officers generally took no steps whatever to check the openly-proclaimed lawlessness that was rampant. On the contrary, the police threw in their lot with the law-breakers.

Grog was served out to thugs, scabs, and half-caste Maoris alike; and, during the day, whisky-maddened, screaming gangs of from 20 to 50 went around, with police squads for bodyguard, and individual unionists were murderously attacked. The police saw to it that the unionists

were given no chance to get together for defence purposes.

After the raid on the hall, the grocery store was raided, the doors were forcibly broken open in the presence, if not with the assistance, of the police; and the store and its contents taken possession of by the scabs. After aiding and abetting the burglary, the police of course took no action against their allies the thugs. They went a step further, and refused to permit the machinery of the Police Department to be used against the law-breakers.

When Barfoot fled from the hall, he sought refuge in the house of Mrs. Ellen Thompson. He wasn't there long when a gang of scats came around—"a howling mob," was how Mrs. Thompson described them. Johnston (one of the police-assistant scabs who helped to raid the hall, and since charged by the police with being insane) was the leader of the mob, who were accompanied by three mounted police. The scabs tried to enter the house, and Mrs. Thompson took up the axe, and declared she would use it on the first scab that entered. Johnston used unprintable language to her in the hearing of the police, who took no action whatever against the scab, but ordered the union woman to put down the axe—an order that was not obeyed. Johnston said to his fellow-rioters: "Mark this house, boys!" and to Mrs. Thompson: "Tonight we'll deal with you." She left Waihi that day, and the same night all the windows in her house were broken, and the house was entered and articles of furniture ransacked and broken.

The experiences of H. M. Kennedy, acting-President of the Union, were startling. In the morning a body of scabs came to his house, where his wife was ill and on the eve of confinement, and threatened his life. He picked up a tomahawk, and told them if they came on he'd protect himself with it. A policeman appeared and ordered the toughs away, but did not take their names. Mr. Kennedy had previously received a wire requesting him to meet the Federation officials at Huntly, and was proceeding to the station, with two constables in attendance, when the scab Gray came along and said: "You b—, Kennedy; you won't leave this town alive!" The police didn't attempt to arrest Gray, who ran back and brought along 50 other toughs. Kennedy then stepped into a friend's house, and said he would stay till the scabs had gone. Some six other constables arrived, and he then walked out and was proceeding to the station

with them when the toughs made their usual charge, and he was struck at and kicked at, but the police neither arrested nor took the names of his assailants. The scab organiser, Best (who, by the way, had to be summoned for his contributions when a member of the Union while it was under the Arbitration Court), called out: "You b-d of a black Anarchist, we'll murder you!" at the same time attempting to strike him, while other scabs attempted to kick him. He then secured a cab and drove to the railway station, where he found he could travel on a goods train. While he was in the stationmaster's office a scab came in along with the police and told him: "We will give you 48 hours to get out of the town, and if you return you will get your b- guts kicked out!" The police took no action against the tough, but heckled Mr. Kennedy concerning his whereabouts at the time the hall was attacked. They rang up headquarters and asked if they should place Kennedy under arrest in connection with the shooting at the hall! Apparently the orders they received were not what they wished, and he was permitted to leave. As he entered the train he was assailed by about 100 toughs, and once again endeavors were made to hit and kick him. This was done repeatedly and under the eyes of the police, who made no arrest whatever.

Unionists were savagely assaulted; men were driven into the bush; homes were invaded; women were grossly insulted, were even threatened with outrage—a policeman threatened one miner's wife that she would be stripped naked.

In the "Star" of November 14, Mr. Wallnutt, or his substitute, reported that "each departing train was watched by Arbitration pickets, wearing red, white and blue rosettes. As each vehicle emptied its miscellaneous cargo on the platform, a member of the picket ticked off the names of the Federationists in his notebook. The list of people warned to quit Waihi is nearly exhausted."

## CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR.

# SWORN STATEMENTS RE NOVEMBER 9.

A chiel's amang ye takin' notes, And, faith, he'll prent it.
—Burns

HARLES TIERNEY states: I am a miner, and have been a resident of Waihi for two years. On Saturday, November 9, I saw the scabs march to the monument, where they were addressed by Potter. Rogers, a photographer, who attempted to take a photo. of the meeting, was assaulted by Harvey.

John Law states: I am a battery hand, and up till lately was working at Waihi. I have been a resident of Waihi for about nine years. I saw the scabs coming from work on the Saturday afternoon (November 9). The pickets were lined up on the Miners' Hall side of Seddon street. The scabs were in procession coming down from the mine. When they reached Seddon street, Commissioner Cullen directed the procession to the footpath where the pickets were standing. The other footpath and main road were entirely clear. The pickets left the footpath, and went on to the middle of the road and merely laughed. When they reached the National Bank corner the scabs again crossed the road to the other side of the street, and marched to the Rob Roy corner, where the brakes were waiting for them. They mounted the brakes and were driven home. Later in the afternoon the procession of scabs marched down to the Miners' Hall and surrounded the office door. They appeared to me as if they wanted to get in. Franklin (secretary) came to the door and waved to about a dozen policemen, who were standing on the road a few vards from the door. The scabs remained there from three to five minutes, calling out to the men in the porch to come out, and the policetook no notice. Eventually, however, the police moved them away.

William Frederick Richards states: I am a miner, and have been residing at Waihi for the past eight years. On Friday, November 8, or Saturday, November 9 (I do not know which, but it was on the day that Tubman was injured) I was on picket duty at Bulltown. With me were: Hinchley, Leather, Peter Fraser, Tom Tubman, Caldicutt, two Woods (father and son), and others. We were walking in pairs, with the exception of Tubman. He was alone, and I do not know how he came there. The brake-load of scabs came along, accompanied by three mounted policemen—Sergeant Miller and Constable Warner were two of them, the other constable's name I do not know. After the brake had passed the two Woods, who were at the end of our line, I saw the younger Woods flying along the fence and one of the mounted police was following him. The father was running across the road and the other policeman followed him. The next I saw was the three

constables riding up towards us. The brake stopped opposite Caldicutt and myself. The brake picked up Wilson and went on again. It went past the picket until it got some eighty yards ahead of the leaders. Hinchley called out to one of the scabs, who was riding on a bike towards the brake: "Hurry up, scab." The police immediately turned their horses and charged towards us. One of the constable's horses struck me on the heel, and Constable Warner tried to ride over me. I got up on an embankment to get away from the horses, and the constables then charged towards Caldicutt. I next saw them charge Tubman, and one horse struck him. Tubman is a very old man. It was a black horse that struck Tubman. I saw Tubman fall on his back. I heard the police order him to get up, and Tubman seemed to be in great pain. As I walked down to Tubman, I heard the constable on the black horse sing out: "Get up, get up, or you will get hurt." The old man staggered up. His hat was still on the road. They told him to pick his hat up and get out of it. While the old man was being assaulted by the police the scabs in the brake were laughing and singing out. As soon as Tubman got into the ti-tree Warner, on a grey horse, charged me again, and told me: "Get out of this! What are you sauntering along here for?" He chased me for forty or fifty yards, and then he left me. The constable then joined the brake and

Edgar Geo. Wood states: On Saturday, November 9, I was picketing at Bulltown, when Sergeant Miller rushed his horse up on to the footpath, and endeavored to make the horse trample me. I was jammed up against a barbed-wire fence. Another mounted man also drove his ! horse into me, and the heavy bit struck me in the mouth and the lip. I was also a witness of the events of Saturday afternoon and evening. I saw the procession of scabs approach and surround the hall door on Saturday afternoon. I heard someone amongst the scabs ask: "Will we go inside." Just then the Federation men crowded around the door. Inspector Cullen came up to the front of the mob and said: "You had better go back." They went out into the road, opposite the hall door. There was a large number of police with them. McDonald, who was standing near us, said: "Is that the Snakecharmer?" pointing to a Maori. The Maori said: "Yes, I am the Snakecharmer," and he made a frightful lunge at McDonald. McDonald dodged, and was trying to get away, when Harvey, the "Pug," ran out from the other side of the scabs and hit McDonald, saying: "I am the Pug; take that!" He burst McDonald's lip open.

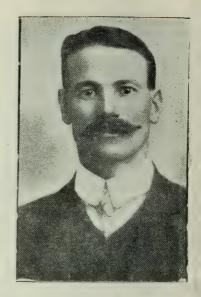
Elizabeth Annie Plummer states: On Saturday, November 9, I was an eye-witness of the manner in which Mr. Tubman was knocked down and injured by the policemen's horses. There were two mounted constables chasing the man. Constable Warner was one of them. I saw a similar attack made in the afternoon, when young Holmes was injured.

Ronald Morton states: I am a miner, and have been a resident of Waihi for about twelve years. On Saturday night, November 2, I was standing in the main street, in front of the Union Hall. I heard a disturbance in the street, and went up to Noakes' corner. I saw

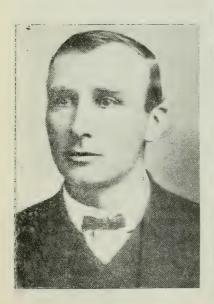
## FEDERATION OF LABOR EXECUTIVE OFFICERS.



P. C. WEBB, Presiden t.



ROBERT SEMPLE, Organiser.



W. E. PARRY, Vice-President. (Also President Woili Miners' Union).



J. GLOVER, Secretary and Treasurer,

Skinner, the constable, riding amongst the crowd on the footpath, where there were women and children. I live on the corner of Williams street and Boundary road. I witnessed an attack on Woods by a crowd of scabs. The scabs also came over to attack me. Mounted Constable Warner and two others were there.

Oliver Noakes declares: On Saturday, November 9, I rode down the street in company with James Calderwood and W. Martin. The scabs were at this time marching down Rosemont road. We were proceeding down that thoroughfare in order to protect a widow, Mrs. Bambridge, who had complained to us that she had been insulted and abused, and her house pelted with nightsoil by the scabs. When we were turning in to Rosemont road three or four foot police stopped Martin and myself; Calderwood went through. In order to get to the widow's house, we proceeded down Seddon street, and around down Kenny street. Before reaching the house of Mrs. Bambridge I saw Calderwood and a policeman. The policeman was trying to pull Calderwood off his horse. Just then Constable Skinner and three or four other constables on horseback came up, and rushed at Calderwood. Calderwood galloped away, followed by Constable Skinner. Skinner was following him down Tauranga road, when they were lost to sight by the bend of the road. In the meantime the police turned their attention to W. Martin, who had proceeded towards the place where Calderwood and the police had been struggling. One constable knocked Martin's hat off. Just then Skinner returned from his pursuit of Calderwood. I was then about one hundred vards away from the place in Rosemont road where the scabs were getting on the railway waggons. One constable pointed at me, and Skinner, leading five or six mounted men. came towards me at full gallop. I turned on my horse and galloped down the road until I met the tramline, and the horse galloped off along the line. I then proceeded home. During the whole of the proceedings I never uttered one word, and I never heard Calderwood or Martin sav anything to the seabs, and I know of no reason why the police should have acted as they did.

Mrs. C. M. Bambrick, late of Rosemont road, Waihi, but now of Karangahake, states: The Waikino scabs came past my home going to and from work. They threw fireworks into my place, then stones and coal; one threw a baton at men; a half-caste threw a can of hot tea over my child. Two police were there. Then came wet mud, oil rags, and rotten eggs. Sergeant McKinnon promised me and my children protection, but he never sent any. I had no relatives in Waihi. The scabs then brought nightsoil in the train; the driver slowed down, and they threw it on the front of my house. I got the assistance of the mounted Union pickets, but eight or nine police came and drove them away.

#### CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE:

## SWORN STATEMENTS RE NOVEMBER 11.

Ocean of Time, whose waters of deep woe.

Are brackish with the salt of human tears.

—Shelley.



F. RICHARDS states: I was a spectator of the assault on Elsegood on Monday, November 11, and later saw a crowd of scabs, headed by Rudd and the Pug, and accompanied by a mounted policeman, whom I could identify. Rudd lashed into the face of one man with both fists and knocked him down. The policeman was singing out: "Get into them; give it to them, lads!" The policeman then charged straight at us on the foot-

path, and we dodged round the corner and got away. We got into

Dare's house, and while there I heard a shot fired.

James Thomas Moloney states: I am a miner, and have been a resident of Waihi for the past nine years. I am a member of the Federation of Labor. On Monday, November 11, I saw the police separating Elsegood and another man. Elsegood joined myself, Jack Law, and Charles Matthews, who were standing at the bottom of steps opposite the Sterling Hotel. We went up the steps, and whilst standing there I saw a constable on horseback in the middle of the road opposite the Sterling Hotel. He called out to a lot of scabs: "Here's Conrick down the street; get down and get to him."

Herbert John Harman states: I am a battery hand, living at Waikino. I entered the hall at Waikino on the night of November 11, just as the request was made to our pickets for the removal of the cartoons and the press cuttings. The man who demanded that this should be done was named Doherty. There were about a hundred scabs scattered around the hall. A knock came to the door. I went to the door. and the two men that brought the first message returned with the same request. When the door was smashed in three of us-myself, Heffron, and Roberts tried to hold the door. When the men had got to the back room, I said: "Let her go," and rushed to the back room. Maori known as the Snakecharmer poked his head through the dow. and Roberts waved a club at him, and said that if he came in he would knock his head off. I was holding the door. At the same time a quoit was thrown at us as we retreated into the back room. It struck the architrave over the door. The Snakecharmer retreated to the pavement, and the crowd got away from the door. Something was thrown from the back of the crowd, and dropped about a foot or so from the door. The door had swung about half-to. The material that had been thrown down exploded, and within thirty seconds the police entered the door, headed by Sergeant Cowan and Detective Cooney. fourteen or fifteen policemen came into the hall. They searched the strikers in the hall, and Detective Cooney went round with a box of

matches and searched the ti-tree at the back of the hall. The police then retired. They had no sooner retired than the scabs started throwing all sorts of missiles.

Alexander Sjoblom, a miner, states that on Monday, November 11, he saw Oliver Noakes chased by scabs and police, and saw Delaney strike at Noakes, in the lane. He also saw Noakes knock Delaney down. At this time Skinner was on horseback, apparently blocking Noakes going down the lane, and Commissioner Cullen was standing in between the crowd and Noakes. Cullen was blocking Noakes, and Noakes said: "Let me get away." Noakes ran down the lane, and Skinner and Commissioner Cullen followed him. When Noakes got down as far as he could he doubled back, but Commissioner Cullen and Skinner blocked him. I was standing about three or four yards away from them. I heard Commissioner Cullen say to Skinner: "We'll see if he can wrestle now," or something to that effect. I am absolutely certain the word "wrestle" was used. I heard Noakes reply: "Let me get away." I saw Commissioner Cullen hit Noakes in the mouth. I saw Skinner make an attempt to hit Noakes on the head with a whip.

Joseph Thomas states: I am a miner, and have been a resident of Waihi for ten years. On Monday, November 11, in the forenoon, I went on picket duty with some fifty others. The scabs marched up the street to the English Church. There was no booing, no calling out of "Scab" by anyone on this morning. I saw the scabs running in a body down the street. There were fourteen policemen on horseback, and a number on foot. As they came down the street I heard the police cry out: "Get into them, boys!" A number of strikers were standing in front of Say's butcher's shop, and the scabs, of whom there were about two hundred, rushed right in amongst the strikers. One or two of the strikers were knocked down, and the others tried to get away. The strikers split up in all directions. Two of them ran down the street, followed by a howling mob of a hundred or more scabs. One of the strikers was knocked down, and the others tried to get away. One man fell, but I can't say if he was hit or not. The mob surrounded the fallen man, and kicked and punched him. There was a large number of police, but no attempt was made to rescue the man. Another striker joined me where I was standing, and together we went up on to some steps opposite Pillings' Hotel, where there were about six other strikers. About one hundred and fifty scabs, led by Constable Warner and some other policemen on horseback, approached the steps. Warner started to get off his horse and the scabs broke up the steps. We retreated in all directions.

Thomas Joseph Franklin, Secretary, Miners' Union, states: On the afternoon of Monday, November 11, I was in the reading-room, engaged in distributing strike pay. There were with me two others—Arthur Charters and Walter Patterson. Commissioner Cullen and Sergeant McKinnon came in. Cullen asked who was the chief officer of the Union. I said: "I am, as secretary." He then said he wanted to know what we were going to do. I replied I didn't quite understand what he meant, but as far as the strike was concerned we meant to

go on. He then said that we would have to alter our tactics. I told him that I wished to prefer a charge against one of the scabs for deliberately breaking the office window. He said that was the correct thing to do if he had broken the window. I asked him also if he knew that some of the scabs were armed with revolvers and batons. He said he did not think they were armed. I then said that one had chased Conrick that morning with a revolver in his hand. I also asked him if he would go up to the foot of the hill in the evening and search these men as they came off work, as I was of the opinion that a lot of them were carrying firearms. He said he could not search the men indiscriminately, but must have proof that they were carrying firearms. Further, he stated that there was no law to prevent a man from carrying firearms. I then asked him why had he searched so many of the strikers without proof that they had firearms. At this point there were four witnesses-J. Turner, Phil. Marks, Dan Conrick, and Oliver Noakes-who told Cullen they could swear they saw scabs carrying firearms in the street that morning. One (Harvey) had chased Conrick and presented a revolver at him, and J. Turner was a witness to this incident. Phil. Marks then asked Commissioner Cullen if he had heard firearms discharged in the street that morning. Cullen replied that he had not. Marks said it was a fact, as he heard the report, and on turning round saw the man with the revolver smoking in his hand. Cullen said he did not believe it, for if a revolver had been discharged he must have heard it. He then accused Noakes of telling deliberate lies when he said he (Cullen) had struck him that morning. Noakes said he was sure it was Cullen who struck him. Kennedy and Wesley Richards came in, and they entered into conversation with Cullen and McKinnon. As I was busy attending to paying out strikepay, I did not hear all the conversation, but I did hear Kennedy say to Cullen: "If you will withdraw all your police, we will restore order." Noakes went away with McKinnon, and shortly after Cullen left. Kennedy, Richards, and myself each asked Cullen to search the man known as the "Pug," who had presented the revolver at Conrick, and this Cullen : mised to do.

Charles James Matthew states: I was employed, prior to the strike, as pitman on the Junction mine. I have been in Waihi for five years. During the strike, I was acting in the capacity of store manager for the Federation stores. On Monday, November 11, I saw a procession of scabs, accompanied by mounted police, coming up Seddon street in the direction of the mine. The scabs were walking on the footpath opposite to the Miners' Hall. Instead of turning off at the usual place, they proceeded up the street to the English Church corner. They clustered round an empty brake. The next thing I saw was J. Elsegood running down Seddon street with the big Maori (known as the Snakecharmer) chasing him, the rest following. Opposite Holmes' snop the Maori hit at Elsegood and struck him on the hat, and Elsegood turned round and knocked the Maori down. Mounted policemen rode up, and one of them had his riding-crop raised in the air as if he intended to strike. He did not strike, but the scabs who clustered

round Elsegood were punching at him. Elsegood got away up the steps. While Elsegood was being attacked, I endeavored to cross the street to go to his assistance, but was pushed back by the police. I turned round and saw Noakes entering the lane, followed by Constable Skinner on horseback. I went down to go to his assistance, but was prevented from entering the lane further than twenty feet by a mounted constable. I did not see what took place in the lane. I went round the back and endeavored to go to Noakes' assistance, but was unable to do so. I saw the crowd chasing another man. I followed the crowd for a short distance, when they gave up the pursuit. They returned and ran down the main street, in the direction of the Union Hall. Some of them were armed with bludgeons, and I noticed one with a revolver. crowd was accompanied by a number of mounted police. There were also some thirty or forty foot police. None of these took any action to prevent these men being chased by the mob, nor did they endeavor to save the strikers in any way.

Robert Heffron states: I am a battery hand, and have been a resident of Waikino on and off for the past ten years. On Monday, November 11, a number of pickets were gathered in the Union Hall at Waikino. About 7.30 a scab named Doherty knocked at the door, and informed one of our pickets that we would have to get out of Waikino within twenty-four hours, and that if we didn't take down the cartoons from the windows there would not be a window left in the premises. Doherty said he had been sent as a representative of the Arbitration Union. I instructed the picket to close the door. About 8 o'clock stones, bottles, and rotten eggs were thrown through the windows and every pane was broken. A mob of scabs, about 150, broke in the door. Another picket and myself endeavored to hold up the door, but eventually we had to retire to the back of the hall, where there was a room. Just as I got inside the back door an explosion took place outside the front door. The police, headed by Sergeant Cowan, appeared at the door immediately afterwards. They came up to us, and searched us, but found no firearms. They took the batons we had and handed them to the people outside the door. I can swear that the explosion was not caused by any man inside the hall, but must have been the work of those who were outside. The police searched the premises for dynamite, but did not find any. I said to Sergeant Cowan: "Disperse the crowd outside the door." He said: "You ought to be quite able to look after yourself." The names of some of those who were with me as pickets were J. Dunn, V. Inch, J. C. Carnell, John Dunn, J. Robertson and W. Heffron. After the conversation with the police, the latter left the hall. I saw that the scabs were preparing to rush the hall, and told all the pickets to get back into the back room. Detective Cooney brought an individual to identify the man who had thrown the dynamite. He picked out Carnell as the man. Detective Cooney left, and the scabs started throwing again. The police then returned and took the names of all the pickets-28 in all. They had scarcely gone a minute when the fire-hose was being played in the hall. I looked through the door, and saw the police watching the

action with the hose. After they had played with the hose for about twenty minutes, the police came in and gave us a guarantee that we could get home safely. When the hose was turned off the first time, Best, a prominent man among the scabs, whom I recognised by his voice, sang out from the outside of the hall: "We'll give you ten minutes to get out or we'll blow you up. We'll put the I.W.W. on to you." He said: "McCormick and Robertson can come out, and we won't do them any harm." But they didn't go out. A business man at Waikino told me he had heard from good authority that the scabs were coming to take our hall on the evening of November 11, and after they had cleaned us up they were going to take the Waihi Hall in the morning.

John Law states: On Monday, November 11, when the scabs were marching to work I heard a policeman call out to the scabs: "At them, boys!" and then scabs and policemen ran up the steps. We got

away round the back.

George Peter Martin states: On Monday, November 11, I was rushed through with the crowd down Holmes' lane. Most of the others got away, but I remained in the yard. I saw Noakes and Constable Skinner on horseback and another man whom I did not know, in civilian clothes, at the furthest point of the lane. I saw the man in plain clothes talking to Noakes, but I could not hear what he said. The man in plain clothes then spoke to Skinner. I was seven or eight yards away from the three, but being a little hard of hearing I could not hear what was said. I saw the plain-clothes man hit Noakes in the mouth. He appeared to bit him with both fists. The plain-clothes man who struck Noakes was about five feet ten inches high, with a fair moustache, and had a light-colored grey suit on. At that time I did not know Commissioner Cullen.

Charles Tierney states: On Monday, November 11, I saw the scabs march up the street, accompanied by empty brakes. When they got opposite the English Church the scabs clustered round in a heap. I noticed a man named Bull running with his hand to the back of his head, with the crowd chasing him. I next noticed Elsegood running down the street, followed by a Maori known as the Snakecharmer, who was leading a crowd of scabs. I saw Elsegood knock the Maori down. I saw a scab rush forward to hit Elsegood, and I gave him a push and he went past Elsegood. The mounted police then made a rush towards us, and we escaped up the hill. When I got on to the hill I turned round and saw a striker named Chas. Gore (who was standing in front of Says' butcher's shop) knocked down by the scabs into the gutter. The crowd rushed over the top of him, kicking him as they went. I ran up the steps opposite the Sterling Hotel, and a man named Moloney was standing with me on the steps. I saw Conrick standing on the opposite side of the street. Shon Murphy was standing with him. Constable Berry spoke to Conrick. I could not hear what he said. I heard Conrick reply: "Oh, there are too many." When this conversation took place, Constable Berry was on horseback in the middle of the street, and Conrick and Murphy and others were standing on the footpath in front of

the Sterling. I saw a band of scabs coming up the street. A constable turned round in his saddle, and, pointing to Conrick, said "There's Conrick, boys; get to him!" Conrick ran, and the scabs followed. When Conrick had reached Phil. Marks' shop, I heard a shot fired from amongst the scabs. A few seconds afterwards I saw Conrick on the ground, and the crowd was kicking and batoning him. mounted constables rode up and shouted out to the scabs: "Hold on; that's enough for a bit." Conrick got up and staggered away. About ten minutes afterwards a dozen mounted police, followed by about 150 scabs, came up to the steps. Another constable rode right up to the steps and said: "Come on down here off those steps; come on down and fight." I said: "You must think we are fools." Constable Warner got off his horse and started up the steps, and we ran away. As the pickets had decided not to come on duty on Tuesday morning, I did not leave home till 8 o'clock. I got to the Union Hall about 10 minutes past 8. I saw the men filing out of the hall and office, and naturally thought they were our own Union men. I walked right over amongst them, and spoke to Horne, a grocer, and said: "There's been some shooting going on." He said: "Yes." Just then the scabs rushed at me, and one said: "You b- mongrel, you are looking for information." He struck at me, and I hit out. I got struck from all quarters. I then caught hold of a policeman by the left arm and said: "Now I want protection from you." He struck me in the face with his right hand, and I staggered back. I turned round and ran down the street towards Tanner's butcher's shop, with all the scabs after me. When I got to the middle of the road in front of the butcher's shop Delaney came across the street and caught me by the coat and threw me down. He kicked me on the knee. The scabs were all around me by this time, and they lifted me up and beat me, and I fell again. After being knocked about by the crowd, I got into the butcher's shop; how I don't know. I was dazed, and the next thing I remember was that the police were holding me up inside the shop. The police threw me down on the floor again. I was on my back, and a constable kicked me on the thigh, saying: "Get up, you mongrel, and fight now." I said: "I can't fight; I'm not able to fight." I was still on the ground between the constables in the shop. At this time there were about half-a-dozen police in the shop and others at the window. Some of them wanted to cart me round the back, and one constable of tall build and fair hair, whose name I do not know, but whom I could identify, picked me up in his arms and said to the others: "You've done enough to him now; I'll look after him." The other constables then said: "Well, throw him out amongst the push." He said: "No; I will take him home." A police sergeant then grabbed me by the foot, and turned me over, saying: "Come on; we'll frog-march him home." He screwed my foot, and I said: "You've broken my ankle." A constable outside the shop said: "He was in the hall firing out this morning." When they endeavored to frog-march me, the constable who had protected me before took hold of me and stood me on my feet, and again stated that he would take me home. When

the constable outside the window sang out that I had been shooting in the hall, the constable who was protecting me said: "No, he hasn't. He has just come from home." The outside constable replied: "Oh, before that he was shooting in the hall." They grabbed hold of me, and said: "Search him for firearms." I had none, and a constable said: "Will you leave the city?" I said: "I'll leave anywhere if you will only get me out of this." They said: "Go, then," and as I got to the door of the shop a constable from behind me kicked me in the thigh. I fell down, and said: "You've broken my leg." They pushed me on to the centre of the road, and Constable Skinner and another mounted trooper got each side of me and rushed me across the street to Woods' chemist shop. Just then Councillor Hume came to meet me. He said: "Good God, what have they done to you, Tierney?" Skinner and the other mounted policeman had left me, and the scabs again came after me, I hobbled down the road, and I saw the scabs assault a man named Rogers. I heard him screaming, but was powerless to help him. I was laid up for two days as the result of the injuries. During the time I was laid up Mr. Hume (councillor) came to see me. He said it was a good job they got old Rogers, or they would have killed me. He told my wife and I that he saw them pull Rogers down and flog him with a file. On the third day of my incapacity Constable Williamson came into my house, and said: "You are able to walk now. Come up, join the Union and knock about with the boys." I said: "No, not boys, but murderers." He said: "I admit you got a rough handling, but take my advice and go up at 2 o'clock and see Commissioner Cullen. He will take you across to the Union office. You can sign your name and knock about the street with the boys." I said: "No, I will not join that Union. Until the Federation decides one way or the other, I will not go up the hill to work." He said: "Oh, the strike is over as far as we are concerned." He said: "Three hundred men went up the hill this morning." When leaving he said: "You take my advice and come up and join the Union." [Note.-It was the scab Union the policeman was urging Tierney to join.]

Edith Mason states: I am 20 years of age. My father is a coach-painter, and I reside with him at Waihi. On Monday, November 11, I was coming up Kenny street at 7.30 a.m., in company with my brother and a lady friend. When I was opposite Hyde's boardinghouse I looked towards Seddon street and saw the procession passing along opposite Worm's shop. When they arrived there they turned back and ran in all directions. When we reached the corner of Kenny street and the street in which the Sterling Hotel is in I saw seven or eight Federationists running round the corner. They were chased by five or six mounted constables, who said to the strikers: "Now go on home." My brother had rushed into Seddon street as soon as he heard the noise, and I followed him. When I arrived at the burnt boardinghouse I discovered four or five Federationists behind an iron fence, some of them washing the blood from their faces. A scab appeared on the scene, and calling to others, said: "Come on; here they are." While I was here I saw a number of strikers upon the steps across

the road. There was a crowd of scabs and a mounted policeman. The policeman got off his horse, and, followed by the scabs, mounted the steps, and went in pursuit of the Federationists. By this time the scabs were all around us, and I rushed into the butcher's shop, where some other women were. A few minutes later the scabs rushed into the shop, and we fled out into the back yard, and hid in an outhouse. One woman fainted in the back yard, and the scabs rushed over her. There was another in a faint on the floor of the outhouse. Just afterwards Rudd entered the yard, and I said to him: "You ought to be ashamed of yourself, running after defenceless women like this." Rudd caught me by the throat, and said: "I'll smash your b- face." Just then two policemen came on the scene, and Rudd turned round and saw them. He called out to the other scabs: "Come on, boys; it's not the women we want, but the men." The policemen then left. never said anything or did anything to prevent the scabs from using violence. They let them go without any effort to arrest them. I w up into the shop again, and heard two or three ladies protesting to another policeman about their treatment. The policeman said: "Serve you right. You've been looking for it."

Ellen Rosa Sorensen states: I am the wife of Henry Sorensen, miner. We have resided in Waihi for the last twelve years.

Monday, November 11, I was in Seddon street about a-quarter to 8. I saw a disturbance between Elsegood and a Maori, but I could not tell how it started. There was a crowd of scabs around the two men at the time. There were a number of police on foot and fourteen mounted constables in the street. The police made no attempt to prevent the scabs committing violence. There were also a number of other disturbances, in which the scabs were inflicting violence on strikers who were in the minority, and not only did the police make no endeavor to prevent violence, but they appeared to encourage it. Rudd, the President of the new Union, came up to me and pushed me and told me to get home.

John Elsegood states: I am a miner, and have been a resident of Waihi for the past six years. On Monday, November 11, I went on picket about 7 o'clock in the morning, at the corner of Grev and Seddon streets. Together with Sid Bull, Desmond Ryan and several others, we moved up the main street. At Gilmour street the scabs were crossing the street from Seddon street, and I was moving in the opposite direction. I made no remark whatever. Two or three of the seabs brushed me, and one of them said I would have to get off the footpath, and gave me a push. I told them I would not get off the footpath, and they clustered round. One remarked: "You've had the use of the streets for six months, and it is our turn now." I was forced back across the street, and a Maori challenged me to fight. I said: "No, I don't want to fight." He spat at my face, but I dodged it, and kept on moving back. The Maori continued to want to fight. He struck at me several times. One of the crowd said: "Why don't you want to fight?" I said I would fight if I could get a square deal. After he had struck at me again, I struck one blow at the Maori

and knocked him down. He tried to get up, but fell again. Severall others rushed at me, and struck at the same time, and I dodged through the police horses and got away. Mounted and foot police were around, but they did not interfere to prevent the scabs. On the following day a number of scabs visited my place, and two of them told me I had 48 hours to get out of the town, or I would have to put up with the consequences. My wife was about to undergo an operation, and I notified Dr. Gallaghan that this would have to be deferred owing to the notice to quit served on me by the scabs. The doctor said he would prevent any display being made at the house.

#### CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX.

# SWORN STATEMENTS RE BLACK TUESDAY AND AFTER.

Thro' the mists of years.
Thro' the lies of men,
Your bloody sweat and tears,
Your desperate hopes and fears,
Reach us once again.
—Francis Adams.

R OBE

OBERT HEFFRON states: The morning after the raid on the Waikino Hall I went to Waihi. I was going up Victoria street, and not far from the station I saw a howling mob, about .50 or more, coming down the side street. Some of them shouted: "Here he is!" and took after me. I ran along Victoria street, rushed into the back door of a house on the corner of Kenny and Victoria streets, and locked

the door. I ran into the front room, where two ladies were sitting. They asked me what was the matter. I said: "The scabs are after me." The scabs broke in the back door, and I ran across the road. Just then I saw another mob of scabs coming down Kenny street. They immediately set chase after me too. I ran across and got in Mrs. Robinson's house, and locked the front door. The lady in the house locked the back door. The scabs surrounded the house. Mrs. Robinson saw one of the scabs flourishing a revolver, through the window, and calling out: "Will I have a shot at him?" A woman close by cried out: "Don't shoot; there are children in the house." Mr. Wallnutt (the Coroner) came along just then, and Mrs. Robinson called him. She told him that there was a man in her house that these people were chasing. I had told the lady of the house that I was a stranger from Auckland, and Mr. Wallnutt went out and told the scabs that I was not a striker, but a visitor from Auckland. He was greeted with replies: "Oh, what b- rot! He is the sergeant of pickets from Waikino, and we intend to lynch him when we catch him." A motor-car, contain-

ing some police and scabs, was coming along the street. Mr. Wallnutt brought them along to the house. The police said to the scabs: "Who's in there?" The scabs said: "That fellow who threw the bomb in Waikino last night." They also said: "He has a revolver, and we are going to lynch him." They called out to me: "Come outside, or we will go in and lynch you in the house." The police went round to the back door and entered the house. One of the police pounced upon me, pinning me against the wall. He said: "Give me that revolver." I said: "I have not got a revolver." He said: "Give it to me, or I'll knock your head off." He then held me whilst another policeman searched me, but they found nothing on me. They said they were going to arrest me on suspicion of throwing the dynamite at Waikino. The police marched me out of the house, one on each side, holding my arms. When I got outside the door two of the scabs rushed at me, one striking me a violent blow in the eye and another a severe blow on the car. When I got on to the street I received blows from the crowd, the police still holding my arms. The police made no effort to stop the crowd from ill-using me, other than asking them to desist from doing so. I was taken to the police station and detained there for an hour or thereabouts. I was asked numerous questions concerning the dynamiting at Waikino. Commissioner Cullen arrived at this stage, and asked several questions. Commissioner Cullen ordered me out, saying there was no charge against me. I said: "I want a police escort to Crimmins' stable to get a horse to take me out of the town." One of the police said: "What! A striker wanting police protection? Get out, you cur. A nice specimen of mankind you are." Commissioner Cullen was present whilst I was being addressed in these terms by a constable. This same policeman got up and pushed me out of the door. I was walking out of the court yard, when he came behind me and pushed me outside the gate amongst the scabs, saving: "Go on, boys; get into him." The scabs rushed at me, striking at me with their batons. I dodged their blows, and ran for the next corner, with the mob chasing me. Two scabs who were ahead of me rushed out and stopped me. Parson Cleary was standing close by, and I said to him: "Why don't you see that a man gets a fair go?" but he made no reply and did nothing to stop the attempts to assault me. A constable who spoke with a strong Scotch accent came up and said to the scabs: "Leave him alone, boys; I think you have given him enough now." He asked me where I was going, and I told him to Crimmins' stable to get a horse to get out of the town. I said: "I want you to come with me." He said: "Oh, you're only getting a little of your own back now; you were the cause of all that trouble at Waikino." I replied, again saying: "I want you to come to the stable with me." He said: "All right," and walked along several yards behind me until we got within a hundred and fifty yards of Crimmins' stable. I heard him give a whistle, and looked across the street and saw Best. As soon as Best saw me he whistled for his crowd, who came racing down the street after me. I ran to the stables, got a horse and got on its back. Facing the door, I saw a number of scabs

# FEDERATION OF LABOR EXECUTIVE MEMBERS.



J. DOWGRAY.



H. T. ARMSTRONG (Ex-President .Waihi Miners' Union).



E. E. CANHAM.



E. J. HOWARD.

across the doorway with their batons out, crying to me: "Come on, you mongrel; we'll give you all you want." I set the horse at a gallop, and went straight through them. Best tried to knock me off the horse with a baton, the blow striking me on the shoulder. I galloped straight out of the town. Another mob of about 20 tried to intercept menear the hospital. I got past them without being hit, but had gone no distance when a revolver shot rang out. I galloped down the road, and about halfway to Waikino I met a lady coming along in a trap. I asked her to take the horse back to Crimmins' stable. I gave her my name. I then set off across country for Waikino, and approaching McCormick's house I saw a large crowd of seabs surrounding it. I ran into a garden close by, and laid down in the grass. Just then three horsemen camegalloping past. After they had passed I made my way home through the bush. Three policemen came to my home, and searched for dynamite. They searched the outhouses, dining-room and the kitchen, and then went away. The next morning Detective Cooney told me to get out of the town. He said my life was not safe, as the crowd were going to lynch me if they caught me. He said: "The crowd are beyond our control, and that's your warning, Heffron, so you know what to do." I said: "Cooney, you can send them all up here if you like. If they do come, some of them will go home feet first."

Ellen Rosa Sorensen states, in effect, re November 12: I left home in the morning about 7 o'clock, and went to the Miners' Hall. Therewere not more than half-a-dozen men there. I saw the scab procession cross from the Rob Roy corner to the hall side of the street. Mr. Waddell advised that we should all go inside, and this we did. None of the people in the hall said a word to the scabs. Of that I am positive. Up till then I could see everything that took place. When the procession stopped, one of our party said: "Shut the door." I do not know which of our party said it. I went into the reading-room, and the others went with me. I could not say which of the men remained in the passage. Before I went into the reading - room I heard a shot fired. We were all clustered together in the little passage leading from the front door to the door of the reading-room when the first shot was fired. I never saw any firearms in the hands of our men, and I am of opinion that the shot was fired outside. After the shot was fired, I heard a hammering on the front office door. Somebody said that we had better get outside and out the back. The scabs were bursting through the front door as we went out of the back. I could not say whether Evans was in front of me or not, but I can swear that Evans was with us when we had got right past the buildings and into the paddock at the back of the hall. At this time we were all going away from the hall. I saw Wade, the policeman, running. He hit Evans on the back of the head, and Evans fell. The policeman ran past, chasing some of the others. The scabs were following on the policeman's heels, and one of them hit Evans with a baton on the head! while he was down. Three or four more proceeded to turn him over. They all more or less assaulted him. While Evans was lving on the ground some of the wemen, myself included, called out to the effect.

that the "brutes are kicking an insensible man." A shot was fired from the main body of scabs, and the constable who had struck Evans on the head, and who was some yards in the front of Evans, put his hand on his stomach and said: "I'm hit." I was standing about five yards away. Sergeant Wohlmann came on the scene, and spoke to us. We complained to him of the way Evans was being treated, and he replied something to the effect that Evans had shot the policeman; I said that Evans did not fire the shot at the policeman, but that the shot was fired by one of the scabs. Wohlmann told us the best thing for us was to get home. Before we went home two detectives met us, and I went round to the police station and made a statement.

May Cottie, after describing the happenings inside the hall on November 12, and the flight of herself and the other women and men from the hall, states: A policeman came up on the other side, and ran towards Evans. I distinctly heard him say: "Here is Evans, the man we want." Some of the scabs were pretty close after him. As the policeman made this remark he struck Evans on the back of the neck. Evans fell forward. So far as I know there was no shot fired at this juncture when Evans fell. The policeman who struck Evans had at this time met with no injury. I saw the crowd take hold of Evans as he was lying on the ground, and start pulling him about. I am positive that the policeman was not shot before he struck Evans, and I am equally positive that Evans was in such a condition after he got the blow on the neck that he could not have shot anybody. The man appeared to be unconscious. It must have been a minute or two after Evans was knocked down and was being roughly handled by the crowd that the policeman exclaimed: "Oh, I'm shot!" and the others led him away. I saw one policeman get hold of Evans by the shoulders and he and some of the scabs were carrying him. I saw the constable kick him whilst he was being carried. . . . . A church minister at Waihi came to our house and told my husband that if I called out scab any more he would set the mob on me and have me put on the train and sent away from Waihi.

Walter Waddell, for ten years a resident of Waihi, states: On Tuesday, November 12, Potter and Pulham came to my house in Galbraith street, while I was away from home, and asked my child, 13 years of age, for me. She told them that I was not at home. Pulham, secretary of the Arbitration "Union," said that they had better leave a note, and Potter then wrote on an envelope that he took out of his pocket and gave it to the girl. [The front of the envelope bore the address of the Secretary, School Committee, Waihi. The words Potter wrote on the back were: "You have now 48 hours to leave Waihi or else take the after effects."]

Joseph Stone states: I am a miner and have been a resident of Waihi for about five years. On Tuesday morning, November 12, I was at home in bed at Mrs. Cummins' boarding-house, when I was awakened by a mob chasing a man named Joughan. He ran into our place for safety. I got out of bed. I saw three scabs follow Joughan in the

back gate, and they were ordered out by the police, at the request of Mrs. Cummins. I heard one of the scabs call out: "We'll have him yet; we'll picket the place." The scabs then left and came back. a while after, about a hundred strong, accompanied by a number of police. They gave the men who were in the house 24 hours' notice to. leave the town. One of our men (Hagan) said: "Well, I won't get out of the town. I'll fight the best one amongst you if you will give me a fair go." With that the man known as the "Pug" came from the other side of the house, and they commenced fighting. The police heard all this conversation and wrangling, but made no attempt to stop. it. Mrs. Cummins asked Sergeant Wohlmann and Constable Williamson if they would stop the fight and order the scabs out of the yard. The sergeant said something to the effect that "they were on privateproperty, and he could not stop it." Just then I saw a man named Hanson jump the fence, with a baton in his hand. I said to Constable Williamson: "Look at that man there with a baton in his hand." Constable Williamson ordered the man back, but made no attempt to take the weapon from him. While the fight was going on one of the scabs. moved towards Hagan with a baton raised in his hand, as if he was going to strike him, when one of our men (W. Love) threatened to knock him (the scab) down with a pick handle. The police here interfered, and pushed the scab back out of the road. After the fight had been going on for some 20 minutes, Sergeant McKinnon and Constable McGuinness. appeared around the corner of the house and stopped the fight. They also ordered the scabs out of the yard. During the fight I was searched by Sergeant Wohlmann. I told him it was cowardly to take our weapons. away and allow the scabs to go about armed with batons and such weapons. He said: "You are a striker, and I'll treat you all alike." He found no weapons of any kind upon me. After the fight I said toone of the police constables: "If the fight had lasted another couple of rounds, little Jimmy would have had him." He said: "Go away. I don't want to talk to b- mongrels like you." Later on I heard the scabs attack a man named Symmons in front of the house. They gave him 24 hours to leave the town, and told him if he did not go they would treat him as they had treated the rest. It was Currie (a scab) who made this threat to Symmons. Constable Skinner spoke up then and said: "This man has not been very prominent through the strike." While the scabs were attacking Symmons, I heard Heath say to Alick Sjoblom: "You've got to get out of the town or you'll get the same as the rest." Sjoblom replied: "You'll carry me to the graveyard before I'll leave." This was said within the hearing of Constable Skinner and another policeman.

Nicholas Thomas states: About half-past 9 on the morning of Tuesday, November 12, three policemen and a number of scabs came to my house in Walmsley road. I was there, together with Mrs. Thomas and my daughter. Constable Warner and two other mounted constables got off their horses at the gate, came in the back door, and told me they wanted to search the house for firearms. I asked Constable Warner if he had a search warrant. He replied it was not necessary. I said:

"Well, in every country I've been in, no policeman could search a man's house without authority. I am not afraid of what you can find in my house, but I object to you entering my house without a warrant to do so." They insisted on entering the house and proceeded to search it.... They searched the house, ransacking every chest of drawers, and then went away, having found nothing.

John Joseph Woods states: I am a miner, and have been in Waihi for 14 years. At the beginning of the strike I was working for the Borough Council. I was not one of the strikers, although I am a member of the Federation. Until the police arrived in Waihi I took no active part, but after their arrival I did duty as a picket with the rest of the members. On Tuesday, November 12, in the morning I was in my own home in Williams street. I saw 60 or 70 scabs coming down the street, and they were velling my name. Thinking they were coming down to see me, I strolled out to meet them. They met me at the corner of Boundary road and Williams street. One of the scabs told me I would have to leave the town. Smeaton (a scab leader) said: "Well, Jack, you are one of the worst b- in the town against us." Sheard (of the new Engine-drivers' "Union") said: "This man is the worst type of Anarchist and Socialist in the town." Capper then said: "I'm spokesman here. We give you, Mr. Woods, 48 hours to leave the town." I said: "No; you've got me here at your mercy, but I won't leave." Tom Foster and Dick Farrell (two scabs) then intervened and told the crowd not to interfere with me. I then went home. and they went on to the next neighbor, and tormented him. Previous to coming to my place, I saw them around Yelland's and Page's places.

Joseph Thomas states: On Tuesday, November 12, in the afternoon, while I was standing on the doorstep of Miss Aikenhead's refreshment room, three policemen passed. They stared hard at me, and Miss Aikenhead remarked after they passed: "They look as if they would like to search you." One of the constables was named Kelly. He said to Miss Aikenhead: "We will search him if we want to. We have had enough of your back slack. Your time is very short here. You'll have to get out with some of the rest." I left Aikenhead's shop and walked up to Wood's corner. A policeman came up to me and said: "You've got six hours to get out of this or you will get your brains bashed out." I asked him what right he had to order me out of the town, as I had done nobody any harm. He said: "Enough now; you have got to get." As soon as the policeman said this, 20 or more of the scabs rushed me. I ran up Moresby avenue and got away from them. The policeman watched the whole proceedings. Later in the day I left Waihi and went to Karangahake. Constable Woodley and two other constables came up to me, and one of the constables said: "What are you going to do?" I said: "I'm going back to Waihi when I can get there." He said: "You can't go to Waihi. You are barred there; there is no work for you there; and you are barred here, and if you are not out of this by 3 o'clock I'll arrest you." I said: "On what charge?" He said: "Under the vag.; you are here for unlawful purposes." Later on A came to Auckland.

Ethel May Thomas states: I reside with my parents in Walmsley-road, at Waihi. On the morning of Tuesday, November 12, I was at the house when the police arrived and searched it. I went out and sat on the lawn in front of the house, and while there Delaney, who appeared to be leading about 50 or 60 scabs, sang out to me: "I'll murder you and blow the house up." Several of the crowd called out to me stating they would burn the house down, and one Maori said: "Oh, you'll soon be in the boneyard." When they were leaving with the policemen, the crowd cried out "they would give us 48 hours to get out of the town."

Bert Hagan states: I am a miner, and have been a resident of Waihi for about eight months. On Tuesday morning, November 12, I was lying in bed. A number of scabs were chasing a man named Joughan, and he ran into the house where I was for safety. The scabs came into the vard, and the mistress of the house (Mrs. Cummins) ordered them out. They went away, but returned about 9 o'clock, and gave myself and three other strikers, calling us b---ds, 24 hours to leave the town. I called out to them that there was not one of them could make me leave single-handed. The man known as the "Pug" came around the house, and we started to fight. The police were in attendance-some nine or ten of them. They allowed us to fight for some five minutes or more, and then interfered. We asked them to allow us to fight on, and they did so for about 15 to 20 minutes, when they eventually stopped us. Whilst we were fighting I distinctly heard a man say: "You b-d, I will brain you with this baton." One of the strikers interfered at this stage, threatening to knock this man down with a pick handle. The police also interfered, but still allowed us to fight on. It was Sergeant Wohlmann who interfered in the first place, saying: "This has gone far enough," meaning the fight, but he allowed it to go on. Eventually Sergeant McKinnon and another constable stopped the fight. After the fight the crowd went away. In my opinion the police had the crowd completely under control. I was a witness of the fight between Kidd and the Maori on the previous Saturday. Commissioner Cullen and a number of police were there. The fight was not interfered with until Kidd was getting the best of it.

Henry Barnes states: I am a waterside worker, and reside in Auckland. I previously lived and worked in Waihi. In company with some five others, I decided to go to Waihi on Tuesday night, November 12. On Wednesday morning, when we arrived at Owharoa, two constables entered the carriage, asked us where we were going, and insisted on searching us. We arrived at Waihi, and went up to Mrs. Parry's place. Three of us—Charters, Wansman and myself—walked up to Seddon street. When opposite the Rob Roy Hotel I saw Smiler Brown talking to Constable Skinner. Skinner got off his horse, and gave it to another constable to hold. He came over to us and said: "Come on, all you strangers; come along with me." He took us into Crimmins' stables, and said: "These men suspect you of carrying firearms." I said: "We have none; we have already been searched once."

He said: "Well, I'm going to search you again." He searched us, and said: "Those constables who searched you had no business to let you come through to Waihi. I'll advise you to get out of it as soon as you can." He said the mob were completely out of control, and he warned us if we stayed there it would be at our own risk. I said: "We are going away in the morning." He said: "I have no power to order you out of the town, but this mob are completely out of control. There is talk of some raid to-night, and we don't know what might happen." We left him then, and walked along the street. Charters went into a billiardroom, and wanted us to go in, but we declined. We walked to the corner, where the Fiery Cross boarding-house is situated, and then went back to get Charters to come with us. I saw Charters talking to Delaney. Delaney went away, and Charters told us that we should have to get out of it by the 6 o'clock train. Delaney had told him that he could stop till morning, but we had to get. Several policemen came over to us and got round us. They were accompanied by a lot of scabs. Butler (one of the scabs) called out: "What did you come here for, you bb-d. I know you. Come out on the road, and I'll deal with you." The police took no notice of this conduct. Skinner then said: "You had better get away by the 6 train." He accompanied the three of us down to Parry's. We went into Mrs. Parry's for our coats. Charters was determined that he would not come, and Skinner asked us when we came out where he was. We told him that Charters was not coming, that he was going to stop to protect the women, and that Delaney had said he could stop. Charters came out and told Skinner that Delaney had said he could stop. Skinner remarked: "Oh, well, if Delaney said so it will be all right." We proceeded down to the station. When we got down there they were discussing the ability of one of the scabs, who was a pug. One of our party said: "He must have improved this last six months, because I could beat him myself." 'said: "Oh, well, I'll go and get him and you can have a try." He was leaving to get him when he was called back by a sergeant.

Thomas Joseph Franklin, secretary, Miners' Union, states: Tuesday, November 12, I was on my way to the office between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning, when I was stopped by a policeman, who told me not to go down the town or I would get into trouble. I asked him He said: "Do you know what has happened this morning?" I said, "No." He then told me that some of our men had shot two men, and that the scabs were out of their control. I went home, and shortly afterwards a number of scabs came up the road and visited the homes of several strikers, telling them that they would have to get out of the town within 48 hours. Later in the day I sent down to the police for protection so as to enable me to get the cash out of the safe. I got no such protection. About 5 o'clock in the evening, accompanied by W. Morton (one of the Trustees), I rode down and saw Sergeant McKinnon. I told him that I had somewhere about £90 locked up in the safe in the Union office, and asked him if he would give me protection to the hall so that I could get this money out. He said the "workers" were out of control, and that he could not grant me protection. He said I had

better wait for a couple of days until they had cooled down. I then, said: "I cannot wait for a couple of days, considering that we are all ordered out of the town within 48 hours."

Charles James Matthews, Union stores manager, states: Thursday, November 14, in the forenoon, I went down to the store, and found that the lock had been broken. I reported the matter totwo policemen, and they took me over to the Miners' Hall. Pulham, Secretary of the Arbitration "Union," was seated in the office of the Miners' Hall, examining correspondence. One of the policemen spoketo Pulham, saying: "Do you know anything about the store being broken into?" Pulham answered: "Yes: Rudd has been over there." I said: "Well, that store has been entered, and I am responsible." Pulham replied: "We had permission from the police." One of the constables said: "Well, if they have had police permission, we had better see the Commissioner." Pulham remarked: "Rudd is in Jackson's office; you can see him. He knows all about it." The policeman said: "Will you go and see Rudd?" I replied: "I'll go and see the Commissioner. I have nothing to do with Rudd." I went round to the Police Station and had an interview with Commissioner Cullen and Inspector Wright. I said to Commissioner Cullen: "I wish to lay a complaint that the store has been broken into." He said: "Yes; who did it?" I said: "Pulham told me that Rudd broke into it." Commissioner Cullen replied: "Oh, well, I suppose if he broke into it he had a right." I said: "But he told me he had police permission." Cullen replied: "Oh, no; he didn't; they had no permission from the police." I said: "Well, he told me they had." Commissioner Cullen repeated: "They had no permission from the police," and Inspector Wright remarked: "No; they had no permission." Commissioner Cullen then said: "We didn't give them permission to break into the hall." I replied; "No; they took it by brute force, the same as they took the store." He replied: "No; they took it as members of the Union, and we had no power to order them out. I could not order you out if you went into it." I remarked: "I am not here to argue about that. What I am here for is to lay a complaint about somebody breaking into the store. They have fixed it so that I can't get into it, and I consider I'm responsible for all that is in it." Commissioner Cullen asked: "Do you hold the keys?" and, I replied, "Yes." He then asked: "Do you know how much is in it?" and I replied: "Some £200 worth." Commissioner Cullen said: "How do you know?" and I replied: "I took stock on Saturday." One of the police then asked: "Why did you do that?" I replied: "Because I was. handing over the management to Aitkinson." I told Cullen that as manager of the store I had come there to lay an information about it being broken into. I could not gain access to the store, and if anything were take out of it, I would hold him responsible. The only satisfaction I got was that he promised to look into the matter, but told me that I would have to fight the matter out with Rudd, "as it was a civil matter." He said he would look up the books of the Union to see if I was appointed, and that I could see him after that. At the time when I interviewed Pulham with the police, Pulham remarked: "We thought there

were some perishable goods there that we could sell and keep an account of." On Friday, November 15, I went over to witness the departure of Evans' body for Auckland. I drove back from the station in a sulky accompanied by Archie Scott and W. Lott. When we arrived opposite the Thames Dairy in Kenny street we saw a number of scabs, amongst whom was one Heath, on horseback. Heath turned and followed us. A constable hailed me at the corner of the street, and said he wanted to search me. Three or four other policemen came over, and we were all searched. I left the sulky and went to the post office to draw some money. I then went down Rosemont road to my brother-in-law's place. Whilst talking there I saw a crowd cross Rosemont road. I proceeded up Rosemont road and at one spot a number of scabs jumped out of the ti-tree. One tried to grab the horse. His name was Carter. Another drew a bludgeon, and made an attempt to hit me, but struck the splashboard and just touched me on the shoulder, remarking: "We'll murder you." I whipped up the horse, and galloped to the police station, where I made a complaint to the police that I had been molested by a mob of scabs. I made the complaint to Sergeant McKinnon. He asked me what I was doing down there after I had explained the locality of the assault. I said I had been down to see my brother-in-law. Sergeant McKinnon said that as he had not seen the assault he could not do anything. I said: "Well, are you going to allow a lot of ruffians to go around with bludgeons threatening to murder me?" He said: "Oh, you are picketing this town." When I was leaving the sergeant's office several policemen met me in the adjoining room and said: "You have slated us off the box, and anything you get done to you is good enough for you. Get out of this before you get into trouble." When I went out to the sulky, which was standing in front of the police station, there were a number of scabs surrounding the sulky, and they told Lott if he came down the street they would murder him. And one, whom I think was Farrell, said: "And as for this b-d (pointing to me), if you don't keep off the street, we'll murder you." There were several policemen standing a few yards away, and they could have heard every word of · it.

Elizabeth Ann Plummer states: On Wednesday morning at Bulltown I saw a number of mounted men, whom I took to be policemen, deliberately set fire to a quantity of ti-tree through which one of the strikers had gone.

Edgar George Woods's statement concerning what happened at Waikino fully corroborates—that of Robert Heffron, and describes how he and others proceeded to Karangahake for refuge. He declares: On the Wednesday morning Constables Woodleigh and Montgomery ordered me to be out of Karangahake by 3 o'clock. A friend named Bert Heaps said that he would keep me at his house as long as he was in work. Woodleigh said: "If you don't leave I will arrest you under the Vagrancy Act." I stopped at Heaps'.

Mark Ward states: On Wednesday, November 13, I went down the street of Waihi with Proud and Sell. Just as Proud and Sell got opposite the Union store, Jim Dawson, one of the scabs, was on the Seddon

Memorial, and he blew a whistle. Thirty or forty scabs rushed round Barron's corner and set on to Proud and Sell. Quigg, Jack Butler, and H. Bostock and two or three Maoris started dealing it out to me. A constable came down. He made no attempt to stop them, but ordered me home. There were a number of policemen watching the assault on Proud and Sell, but they made no attempt to save the two men from the crowd. Butler, one of the scabs, said to me while the policeman was present: "If you are here in the morning you will get some more." I left Waihi that night at 8 o'clock, and walked to Karangahake with Fred Hennessey. The police stopped us at Waikino, and asked us our names and where we were going.

Mary Jane Carlyon states: On Wednesday, November 14, or Thursday, November 15, I'm not sure which, a large crowd of scabs, headed by Wm. Dunstan, came to the house in Evans street. My sonin-law, my daughter, and myself were in the house One of them called out for Harry Hines to go to the gate. I called out: "Don't go, Harry; they are only traitors and cowards." One of them said: "We only want to give you a few words of warning." I said: "Don't believe them; they are only liars and traitors." Dunstan said: "You miserable old hag; you have had your day, now we have had ours." I said: "Who authorised you to order us away from the town like this?" One of them called out: "The public of Waihi." Another said: "You bslut." I said I did not intend to leave the town for them. I sent for police protection, and a constable was sent by Sergeant McKinnon. The constable said he thought we had a cheek to ask for protection after the way in which we had been booing them. I interviewed Mr. Donaldson, J.P., and pointed out that I had been left with four girls and fifteen grandchildren. The men had been hunted away, the store taken, and police protection declined. "What are you going to do for us?" I asked. Mr. Donaldson said he could do nothing.

#### CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN.

## THE FRAME-UP OF THE INQUEST.

O Pope! had I thy satire's darts
To gie the rascals their deserts,
I'd rip their rotten, hollow hearts,
And cry aloud their hocus pocus arts
To gull the crowd.

T

IE inquest touching the death of Frederick George Evans was opened at Waihi on November 14, the local coroner (Mr. W. M. Wallnutt) presiding.

The jury consisted of G. Lawlor, insurance agent (foreman); A. Dick, retired grocer; R. H. Holmes, storekeeper; M. G. Power, sharebroker; W. Murray, sharebroker; and A. T. Ellis, electrical engineer.

It should be noted that this jury was selected by police officers, whose conduct necessarily came within the scope of its review. At least one-half of the jurors were said to have been members of the scab union (the constitution of which provides for the admission of business people). Not a single wage-worker, not a trades unionist, not a Federationist, was included in the composition of the jury.

The Coroner's Court, having viewed Evans' body, and having taken formal evidence of identification, adjourned for a week. In the meantime, Dr. Craig made a post mortem examination, and reported that "there were no marks of violence on the body"; that the chief injury to the head was caused by the blow, delivered on the back of the head, from the constable's baton; that "the other injuries to the face were of a minor nature"; and that death resulted from laceration of the brain, caused by the blow from the baton.

The remains of the murdered man were conveyed to Auckland by express train on November 15, and on November 16 a second post mortem was made by Drs. Savage and Bull, who reported that they found no sign of violence, except of one blow over the bridge of the nose, left eye and ear; that death was due to laceration of brain and haemorrhage; and that the skull was very thin.

On November 16 The Worker "Special" was issued, and on the following Monday the Federation Executive decided to send H. E. Holland (then lecturing for the Socialist Party in Wellington) to Waihi to report the inquest proceedings. Holland arrived at Waihi on Tuesday, November 21, and found that a cut-and-dried policy was being pursued by the Crown. The inquest was to have closed next day, without any opportunity for the other side to be heard—possibly without even Wade's evidence being taken, and with the complete suppression of the sensational signed statements taken by the police from Mesdames Sorensen and Cottie and the Misses Hyslop. An enveloping cleak was thus to have been thrown over the crime of the conspirators.

At the close of the November 21 proceedings, Holland applied for an adjournment to permit the Federation of Labor to be represented by counsel, and also to enable the production of witnesses.

Mr. Mays pointed out that only unions registered in the Arbitration Court had status in the Coroner's Court, and it was ultimately agreed that the Federation of Labor's representative should appear nominally for the relatives of the deceased, and that the Court should sit next day, and then adjourn till December 4.

Prior to November 21 and immediately after, there was a great public outery against Mr. Wallnutt being permitted to act as coroner, together with a wide demand that venue should be changed from Waihi to Auckland or some other centre. It was pointed out that Wallnutt, during the first three months' period of the strike, had been a member of the staff of a notorious local paper that was responsible for the circulation of the vilest slanders against the unionists; that he had presided over the first meeting addressed by Joseph Foster in the interests of the seab "union"; that certain unionists, including the deceased, had charged that Wallnutt was implicated in the move to get a scab union formed; and that he was Waihi correspondent for the "Auckland Star"—another paper whose slandering of the unionists was a notorious circumstance. Protests were forwarded from Wellington, Christchurch, Auckland, West Coast, Dunedin, Karangahake, and indeed almost all the industrial centres.

Moreover, since the "Auckland Star" contained reports that substantially bore out the charges that Evans was kicked and otherwise assaulted by the scabs, it was, of course, very desirable that the correspondent who saw the things he recorded should have been called as a witness. Yet the "Auckland Star" proprietary, after some delay, positively refused to supply the name of its correspondent.

In his evidence-in-chief, on November 21, Harvey-who appeared in the box decorated with red, white and blue ribbon-said that on November 12 he rushed at the door of the Miners' Hall and banged "it after someone had called out "scab." Shots were fired, and he and others burst through and got inside. His narrative showed that he was among those who chased Evans, who fired as he ran. Two shots were fired—one at Wade and one at himself (Harvey). Wade, who was hit, caught up to Evans and struck him over the head with his baton. Evans fell on his face and then rolled over on his back, holding the revolver in his hand. Harvey rushed up, fell on top of Evans, and seized the dying man and gripped him by the throat (this is how he told his own story) and took the revolver from him. The police and a number of other scabs then came up, and Evans was dragged to his feet. The scabs were very hostile, and suggested lynching the dying striker; but Harvey denied that any violence was actually meted out to him.

"Had you been in Constable Wade's place, would you have done what he did?" asked counsel.

"I'd have done it, yes—only a bit quicker," answered the scab, #boastfully.

There was actually a laugh in court at this brutal answer—and it didn't come from the scabs alone: it came also from some persons officially connected with the conduct of the inquest.

Albert Ernest Ritchie gave extraordinary evidence. He swore he saw Evans fire a revolver from inside the hall door, and said the bullet passed between Harvey and himself. And then he added, to the evident consternation of counsel for the Crown:—"Immediately after Evans fired, Doyle fired two shots. I saw him." "Are you sure it was Doyle who fired? Couldn't you have been mistaken? Might not someone else have fired over Doyle's shoulder?" suggested counsel. "No; I know Doyle's hand, and I saw him shoot," persisted the Crown witness. "I ought to tell you," said the despairing counsel, "that it has been proved that Doyle's revolver was not discharged." Still Ritchie said he was perfectly sure Doyle had fired.

The next witness was Thomas Henry Johnston, who also flaunted a tri-color rosette. He told how the "workers" marched in procession on November 12, and how someone at the hall called out "scab" and the scabs rushed the hall, and Harvey and another "worker" were near the door.

"Then the door opened," said counsel. "Yes—we opened it," said the witness. A second time the door was opened, and Johnston declared he saw five men in the passage—three in front and two behind, the three in front holding revolvers, all pointing downward. Them he explained that it was his intention to rush in, but jumped back, and next found that he was shot in the leg. (In spite of his "wound," Johnston was able to be present when Evans was in a state of collapse. He was also able to lead the attack on Thompson's house.)

James A. Delaney and James Albert Scott gave evidence, the former in line with that of Wade. The latter was asked if he had seen anyone running when he got to the back of the hall, and he replied: "Yes, Delaney." "Oh, I mean the strikers," said counsel. After which witness said he saw Doyle and Evans.

S. J. Foster, who also had taken part in the scab procession, said he had passed the hall when a scuffle took place, and saw one of the strikers run into the side door of the lower passage. "And you followed him towards the door, with Bostock, Harvey and Johnston?" said counsel. "Yes, I pulled the door open by the knob." "Did you actually pull the door open or was it opened from the inside?" "I pulled it open." When he pulled the door open, he said, a shot went off. He couldn't say who fired it. There were two men there. He was one of those who chased Evans, and saw the latter turn and fire. Also saw Wade strike Evans down. After Evans fired he saw the revolver in his hand.

Mrs. Percy Manning described witnessing the chase after a fleging man, saw the man turn and fire, and also saw the constable strike him once or twice with a baton.

When the Court met on November 22, Mr. Mays referred to the fact that subpoenas were out for Waddell and Barfoot, two unionists alleged to have been in the hall when the shooting took place. He said



TOP.—CULLEN, WRIGHT, COONEY. (
INSET,—CONSTABLE WADF, DELANEY,
BOTTOM SUPERINTENDENT BARRY, MAGISTRATE FRAZER.



"MASSEY, CULLEN, AND CO." ESCORTING SCABS.



CHEERING SCABS AS THEY LEAVE WORK. (IT WAS ALLEGED THAT THE WOMEN DARE NOT LEAVE HOMES).



POLICE BRAKE WITH SCABS.

the police had been unable to find these witnesses, and suggested that as the Federation probably knew where they were, it should be made a condition of representation that the Federation should produce them.

Mr. Holland, in reply, said he would not admit that the Federation of Labor had any knowledge of the whereabouts of the witnesses mentioned, but the Federation would present every witness that it deemed to be necessary for furnishing clear evidence of the things that had happened at Waihi.

W. H. Hazard, an Auckland firearms and ammunition merchant, gave evidence concerning the make of certain revolvers and cartridges. He deposed that the weapon taken from Doyle had not been discharged for more than a month. (Ritchie had already sworn that he saw.

Doyle fire two shots.)

Constable Montgomery, inter alia, said he helped to keep the crowd of scabs off Evans after he had been batoned. Later, he saw Evans being searched by the police. Constable Brown said that on October 4 Evans was one of a crowd of strikers assembled outside McWilliams' house. When he (the constable) rode amongst the crowd to disperse them, Evans said: "This is the scoundrel that tried to ride over us last night." Constable Cowan also admitted that Evans was searched by the police before his injuries were attended to.

Michael Rudd, President of the Scab "Union," was called to say that there had been no pre-arranged action re the taking of the hall or the assault on the miners. But counsel carefully refrained from questioning Rudd concerning the forcible and illegal holding of the hall. Asked if the horn blew for work on the morning of the 12th, Rudd said: "I didn't hear it."

Sergeant Wohlmann interjected from the body of the court that he had heard it.

Constable Wright admitted having helped to search the dying man, along with Cowan and Adams. A big crowd of scabs (he called them "workers") was around, and there were cries—from the scabs—of "Lynch him!" He saw no actual violence done to Evans by the scabs, but his mouth was bleeding.

Constable Maunsell saw the other police holding the dying man down and searching him.

Constable Angland described the finding of a bullet in the fireplace at the Miners' Hall.

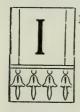
Detective Sweeney said he saw a disturbance at the Miners' Hall, saw the hall rushed, and almost immediately after heard two or three revolver shots fired in the vicinity of the hall. He saw Wade and Harvey enter the door, and followed, with other police, and searched the office and hall for firearms, but found nothing. In the passage leading to the reading-room he found a bullet on the floor. Next day he removed the lock (produced) from the door. He saw no viclence attempted by the scabs, although they were hostile.

The inquest was adjourned to December 4.

#### CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT.

## THE INQUEST RESUMED.

Despotism is to me the worst and most abominable of all bad governments.—MONTESQUIEU.



N spite of the almost unanimous public protest, the Government persisted in letting Coroner Wallnutt conduct the inquest. In spite of the public demand, the Government refused to order a change of venue.

In the meantime, it was arranged that Mr. J. R. Lundon, of Auckland, should appear for the Federation of Labor, when the inquest re-opened on December 4

As in the earlier days of the inquest, scabs and thugs appeared in and about the Courthouse, fraternising with the police, and flaunting their red, white and blue badges of shame.

The evidence of Constable Gerald Wade (taken at the hospitar) was significant, inasmuch as Wade admitted that Harvey was the nearest man to himself when he was attempting to enter the hall; and with Harvey was Jonhnston. Wade also admitted that he drew his baton as he ran and menaced Evans with it before Evans had fired at him or even threatened to fire. His evidence also showed that he did not call on Evans to stand, but struck him down without warning. He said he couldn't offer any explanation or reason for the scab procession crossing over to the Miners' Hall on the morning of November 12. His version of what happened at the hall prior to the shooting was that he was about 200 yards away when the procession stopped, and hastened to the scene. He first saw Harvey at the entrance to the hall. Delaney was not present at this stage, but Wade saw him at the back after the shooting. He had been engaged in quelling the trouble on the previous day, and knew that Harvey had been in some of the fights. There was nothing in the nature of calling out that attracted his attention, There was no noise up to the time the crowd stopped; the noise was after the crowd stopped. When the crowd stopped he couldn't see the door. He didn't move till he heard shots fired. He thought he heard two or three shots fired before he moved. He heard no sound of a bullet. He told the Arbitrationists not to force their way into the hall, but didn't remember Harvey refusing to stay outside. He did not give Harvey any authority to enter the building. Harvey got through the outer door; he walked a couple of paces along the passage towards the inner door, which was then shut. Evans was looking through the aperture. No word was spoken. Evans then fired a shot. He thought

it was fired at him, and immediately pushed through the doors, and saw three or four men running out by the back door. Evans was the last man out, and Wade followed close on his heels. When he got through the building Evans turned slightly to the right. The other men went to the left. Evans ran up an incline on to a road, and then turned to the left. As he ran he (Wade) drew his baton and gradually gained on Evans. When within about four or five yards Evans looked over his right shoulder and swung his arm round and fired. He carried the revolver in his right hand. The bullet struck him (witness) in the stomach. After the shot struck he reached Evans and hit him on the side of the head with the baton. Evans fell forward on his face. Witness put his hands to his stomach, and other constables came to his assistance. After Evans fired the shot he still had the revolver in his right hand. When Evans fell, the revolver fell out of his right hand.

Henry Barfoot said he was present at the Miners' Hall on the morning of November 12. Evans, Doyle, Waddell, Southey, and Arthur Richards and four or five women were also there. He was on the doorstep of the hall when he first saw the crowd on the 12th. The women were well inside before the crowd came along. All the men, except Evans, were outside the door when the procession came into sight. When the scabs got opposite the hall, all went inside except Southey and Richards. Their object in going inside was to avoid possible trouble; he had suggested that they go inside. There was no reason whatever for the crowd stopping in front of the hall. The right-hand side of the door was bolted, and the left-hand side was open, but within reach to pull it to from the inside. As he went in he tried to close the door, by grasping a brass hook that was on the door. The door was then pulled from his grasp by someone outside. It was Doherty—one of the Arbitrationists—who pulled the door. He understood Doherty was a Huntly man. Couldn't say who else cameseveral men got hold of it. Couldn't say whether any constables were in sight at this time. There was no possible excuse for the door being burst open. He left as soon as the scabs rushed the hall. They burst the door open. He was trying to hold it closed, and they snatched it open from his grasp. He couldn't say who was present when he was holding the door, but Evans, Dovle and Waddell were somewhere in the hall. He saw Harvey participating in the attack on Richards. A pack of scabs chased them as they left the hall, and when he got to Moresby Avenue he saw Doherty among those who were chasing Waddell.

Walter Waddell said that after the unionists had gone inside the hall, he entered the reading-room, and while there he heard a revolver shot, but didn't know who fired it. He had seen Evans in the passage with a revolver in his hand. Evans was the only man with a revolver. He only heard one shot. With the women and others he then left by the back door, and went up the hill and into the paddock. A revolver shot was fired at himself as he ran. Later on he was served with a written notice to get out of Waihi. The notice was on the back of an envelope addressed to the Secretary of the School Committee.

#### THE

# Maoriland Worker

Official Organ of the New Zealand Federation of Cabor.

A JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, SOCIALISM AND POLITICS:

Revision for Transmission by Post as a Newscape

ATERDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1912. He 44 are some within the Bank

## Lawless Law and Order at Waihi

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UNION HALL RAIDED AND STRIKER MURDERED.

Press Lies versus Accounts by Union Eye-witnesses.

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This is but a brief errune, of the position at Waibl. Within a few days as animative review will be distributed broaden. P. C. WEBD, President. R. SEMPLE, Organiser. J. GLOVER, Secretary.

## SEMPLE'S STORY

CONCLUSIONS REACHED.

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Although it had previously been stated that the police could not find him, police officers had talked to him at the Trades Hall at Auckland, and he had left his address at a constable's house at Kingsland.

William Leech, a local business man, said that Evans had told him that the scabs had made an attempt to raid the hall on Monday, the 11th, but had not succeeded. He said that if the scabs did get into the hall there was a reception waiting for them that they did not expect.

On December 5, James A. Delaney (labelled "the principal strikebreaker" by the "Weekly News") entered the witness-box, wearing a red, white, and blue badge. He admitted he was at the head of the scab procession, and said Rudd was also in the forefront. There was no discharge of firearms till he got to the hall door. There was a scuffle at the door, and he thought Harvey was in it. Harvey had a fighting reputation. Harvey shaped up to Richards after the latter was dragged up on the road. He declared that he had no firearms that morning, and had never carried a revolver. If it was said that Harvey banged the door between the firing of the two shots he would not deny it. He would not deny that the door was opened in consequence of Harvey's attack on it. When Evans was being pursued by Wade, he turned his head over his right shoulder and fired with his right hand behind his back, without ceasing to run. Delaney said he was the first man to reach Wade. Harvey was then on his right. Harvey had no revolver, but had a baton. Evans' action in shooting was instantaneous, and up to the moment not a word had been said by anybody. After Evans fired, Wade hit him with the baton. He didn't think Wade hit Evans while the latter was on the ground, but wouldn't swear that he didn't. He would not swear that Evans was not hit by someone whilst on the ground. Later on he said he would swear that neither himself nor Wade hit Evans while he was on the ground, but would not swear that Harvey didn't. After Evans fell on his face, Delaney didn't see the revolver, neither did he see Evans move. He (Delaney) admitted that he was engaged, in company with Capper, Dawson, and about 30 others, that day in giving notice to people to get out of Waihi, but he dian't know any of the names of the people to whom he had given notice.

The Coroner refused to permit evidence concerning the scale' conduct in ordering citizens out of Waihi.

At this stage Mr. Lundon intimated that four or five women were present in the hall at the time of the raid, and statements had been taken from them by the police, which statements were now being suppressed. These statements were made one hour after the shooting, and the fact that they were withheld and that he had no opportunity of examining the witnesses who made them was decidedly unfair.

After repeated objections by Mr. Mays, Mrs Sorensen was placed in the box.

Ellen Rose Sorensen (wife of one of the jailed strikers) said she went to the hall on November 12 with Mrs. Chas. Cottie. When the scab procession came along, someone suggested that they should go into the hall. They went into the passage, and remained there until

the procession had passed, when they went to the reading-room. She saw some strikers there, but not any with firearms. She heard no shot until the scabs came. Didn't know who fired the shot, but was under the impression that it came from the street. Later a lot of men (scabs) came through the door from the street, and there was a commotion near the door and a sound of hammering. The women went out through the back door and up behind the back of the hall. When witness got through the fence, Evans was ahead of her, but she didn't see any constable. She didn't know where Barfoot or the other men went. At this time Evans appeared to be running towards Dr. Craig's, and then she saw a policeman rush past her, overtake Evans, and hit him on the back of the head. No shot was fired before the constable struck Evans. There was no aggravation of any sort to cause the blow to be delivered. Evans fell face downward, with his arms underneath him, when he was struck, and then one of the scabs came up and hit him with an instrument shaped like a baton. At this time Evans was lying on the ground motionless. Other scabs then came up, and began pulling him about. She saw kicks being delivered at Evans by the scabs, and asserted that every one of them that went near him more or less assaulted him, and that no attempts were made by the police to prevent them. She and others called out: "You cowards, you are hitting an insensible man," and Wade thereupon turned round. A shot was fired, and Wade put his hands to his stomach, and said: "I'm shot." The shot that struck Wade was fired from behind. Evans had no revolver in his hand to her knowledge, and she had never seen him with a revolver. In due time, other scabs came on the scene, and an additional policeman, the latter going to Wade's assistance. The scabs then began to pick Evans up. Sergeant Wohlmann came down to where witness and others were standing, and said something about it being a bad business, as Evans had shot the constable. They complained to Wehlmann of the way Evans had been treated, and told him that Wade had not been shot by Evans, but from the ranks of the scabs. The sergeant told them they had better go home. The reason she believed that a scab had shot Wade was because when the shot was fired she saw the smoke coming from amongst a bunch of scabs. If Evans got a blow on the bridge of the nose it must have been after he had been felled by Wade. The marks on his eyes and left ear could only have been caused in the same way. She had made a statement in the Courthouse on November 12, a little after the occurrence; it was taken by a detective. Some of the scabs carried iron bars.

Mrs. Sorensen also stated that she had made a sworn statement in Mr. Mays' office at Auckland. Mr. Mays demanded that this should be produced, and it was immediately handed in by Mr. Lundon. In it were details of the subsequent outrages committed by police and scabs, and when Mr. Lundon proceeded to cross-examine the witness upon this portion, Mr. Mays objected.

Mrs. Sorensen further stated that Rudd had assaulted her on November 11, and, although he was then under a bond to keep the peace, he had not been prosecuted by the police for that assault. Another witness of the tragedy whose statement had been taken by the police and suppressed was Miss Kathleen Hyslop. Her evidence as to what transpired in connection with the forcible entry of the cabs into the hall was corroborative of that of Mrs. Sorensen. "After she got outside," she said, "she heard one shot fired. She ran up the hill behind Evans, and got through the fence at the back of the hall, and then stopped. She saw Evans about 10 yards away; also saw a crowd of scabs coming from the right of the hall and heard a shot fired. Evans was still running after the shot was fired. A few yards further up Evans fell (she thought he tripped). Saw a policeman run up and hit him on the head after he fell; one of the scabs did the same thing with a baton. Could not identify the scab, but knew he was a scab, because he came from the mob of scabs. After that the mob of scabs got round Evans and appeared to be kicking him."

Under cross-examination, she said Evans could not have fired unless she had seen him. The sound of the shot came from where the scabs were. When she told the detective that Evans had no revolver, he replied that Evans had had a revolver in his possession. She told the detective who took her statement that one of the scabs had struck Evans with a baton.

The third witness whose statement had been suppressed by the Crown was Miss Catherine Hyslop, who did not see Evans struck down, but who was in the hall when it was raided. After she had gone into the reading-room with the others, and on returning to the passage, a rotten egg whizzed past her and struck the inner door. When she was in the reading-room she could see the crowd outside trying to get the door open. She saw no revolver whatever in the hall. When she heard the second shot, it seemed to come from the paddock somewhat behind her on the right side of the fence. She had made a statement to the police on the morning of the tragedy. The detective to whom she had made the statement had asked her if she had seen a revolver, and when she said she had not, he told her not to make a liar of herself. She replied: "I am not like a policeman; I don't tell lies."

Mrs. May Cottie was the fourth and last witness whose suppressed statement was in the hands of the Crown Law Department. Mr. Mays informed the Court that Mrs. Cottie could say nothing more than the last witness, Miss Hyslop, had said, and Mr. Lundon antimated that he would be prepared to allow the statement made by Mrs. Cottie to the police to go in as evidence. Thereupon Detective Powell was placed in the box to produce Mrs. Cottie's statement, and it transpired, from the detective's own evidence, that he had not asked Mrs. Cottie directly whether she had heard a shot fired after she left the hall, and yet he had made her say that she had heard a shot fired, but was not present when it was fired. He had asked her practically mothing concerning what took place outside the hall after the raid. "I didn't think Mrs. Cottie knew anything about Evans being hit, and that was why I didn't ask her about it," said the detective. "Then, apparently, you only asked her concerning the part that suited your own purpose," said counsel.

It was significant that when the detective was betraying the utmost nervousness under Lundon's merciless cross-examination, and when counsel for the Crown was in a quandary as to how to redeem the situation, Juror Murray arose and protested "against the waste of time."

When, on December 12, Mrs. Cottie entered the box, the reason for the strenuous effort to keep her out became apparent. She had almost the same sensational story to tell of outrage and murder on the part of the scabs that Mrs. Sorensen had told. The first shot was fired about the time the rotten egg was thrown, and it was fired from outside the hall. Three or four shots were fired in succession after that. She left the hall with the others, and ran through the gap in the fence. Evans was then in front of her, running. Just after this: a constable appeared. Up to that moment she saw nothing in Evans's hands. The constable came on the right-hand side of her, and she distinctly heard him say: "Here's Evans; this is the man we want." She didn't then know the constable's name. She stopped running, and stood just outside the fence. Evans was making towards Dr. Craig's fence. He had not got far when he was struck down. Where Evans. fell was rising ground, and the surface was soft and grassy. After she heard the constable use the words mentioned, he (the constable) struck out and hit Evans on the neck, she thought, and Evans fell forward on his face. The blow was not a downward blow; it was delivered side on. With the force of his running and the blow the constable evidently went forward. She wasn't sure about this, because it was not the constable she was watching, but Evans. Evans certainly did not fire a shot; he couldn't have done so. He was down, and never moved. It would not have been possible for Evans to have fired without herseeing it. She heard no report of a shot up to the time Evans fell. Up to the time Evans fell the constable had received no injury. In her opinion, Evans never moved after he was struck down. The crowd of scabs rushed up and hit Evans in every possible way, and even pulled his legs and arms, while there were cries of "Lynch him!" She saw a policeman kicking Evans as they were carrying him away. When she and Mrs. Sorensen complained to Sergeant Wohlmann about the way Evans had been knocked about, Wohlmann said Evans had shot a constable, and she took that as meant for an excuse for what was being done to Evans. They denied that Evans had shot the constable, and Wohlmann told them to go home. She lost sight of the constable until she saw him being led away by two of the scabs; he was then holding himself and exclaiming that he had been shot.

Mr. Mays, counsel for the Crown, subjected Mrs. Cottie to a severe cross-examination—althugh she was supposed to be his own witness. He almost threatened her with prosecution for perjury when he failed to shake her evidence. He demanded to know if she would not expect to see bruises and marks about the body of Evans if he had been kicked and hit as she alleged, and she replied that she certainly would expect to see marks. Mr. Mays then declared that Evans's body bore no marks. Later, witnesses stated on oath that the lower parts of

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the body were marked; and later, also, Mr. Mays' "expert" medical witness, Dr. Craig, declared that a man could be kicked about the thick parts of the body—the buttocks, the thighs, possibly the arms, and on certain parts of the neck—without showing marks for some considerable time.

Having failed in every effort to beat the witness, counsel for the Crown adopted new tactics. "There is a wonderful similarity between your evidence and Mrs. Sorensen's," said Mr. Mays. "Why, you have just been trying to show their dissimilarity," said Mr. Lundon. "Oh, well, I'm prepared to take it either way," was Mr. Mays' somewhat astounding admission.

Arthur Richards, who was outside the hall when the scab procession stopped for the raid, said the first man that struck him was Harvey.

Constable Maunsell (re-called) said he was the first constable to reach Evans. There were three or four "workers" there. The only one he recognised was Harvey. When he got there Evans was on the ground, face downwards, with his arms stretched out. Three or four "workers" were holding him down, and Harvey was searching him. Harvey was kneeling with one knee on Evans, and had his hand in Evans's pockets. He pulled Harvey off Evans. Couldn't say which hand was in Evans's pocket, nor where Harvey's other hand was. He had only just got hold of Harvey when a number of other "workers" and police rushed in. These helped him to pull Harvey off. He didn't see any sign of a blow on the back of Evans' head. When the police came, he left Evans lying on the ground, face downwards; he went to Dr. Craig's house, when he saw the rush there. He had heard the "workers" yell out: "There are more strikers here," and he followed the hunt. He found Doyle lying on the floor in Dr. Craig's with a number of the "workers" on top of him.

Arthur Doyle, whose account of what occurred prior to the unionists leaving the hall by the back door was in line with that of the other witnesses, said he did not see Evans after leaving the hall till he saw him at the police station. He (Doyle) was considerably knocked about at Dr. Craig's by the scabs. He first drew his revolver in Dr. Craig's to protect himself. He walked round to the police station with two constables, the whole crowd of scabs following and calling out: "Lynch him! Lynch him!" One of the scabs struck him while he was handcuffed at Dr. Craig's. This was done in the presence of the police. In front of Dr. Craig's the police had a deal of trouble to keep the scabs back. On his way out from Dr. Craig's to the Union Hall he was again struck by one of the scabs. When he got to the watchhouse Evans was there, sitting on a chair. There were several policemen present. Evans was kept there for 10 minutes, when he was taken to the cell. He thought Evans was then unconscious. The police addressed him, but got no response. He never saw Evans after. He himself was locked in a cell. The police came into the cell every now and then, and talked "roughly" to him. They told him he'd be hanged for what he had done. He heard Evans being removed, but didn't

know who went into the cell, or what happened there. Evans was more than an hour in the cell with only police going in and out. He saw Evans being searched at the police station; he had his chin on his

chest, and appeared to be unconscious.

Henry Southey said he was with Richards outside the hall when the raid was made. He attempted to get into the hall when he saw Richards being assaulted. Someone laid hold of him, but he got away while Richards was being dealt with in the road. When he got into the hall he did his best to shut the door by catching hold of the brass clip. He failed to close the door, because the scabs outside were too strong for him. Up to this point, none of the unionists had uttered any word to which any of the scabs could take exception. Evans had hold of the door inside. When the door was pulled open the crowd cutside looked decidedly vicious, and he reckoned it was time to leave. He bolted at once for the rear, and escaped to Dr. Craig's.

"And at Dr. Craig's you were handed over to the mob?" asked

Mr. Lundon.

Mr. Mays objected.

Mr. Lundon remarked that whenever any attempt was made to show concerted action on the part of the scabs Mr. Mays at once ob-

jected. This was another evidence of the "square deal" policy.

Ernest Edward Canham said he was President of the Waterside Workers' Union at Auckland, and as such, with the Secretary (Mr. Collett) he attended a post mortem on the body of Evans at Auckland on November 15. Drs. Savage and Bull conducted this post mortem, and witness was present when they made their examination, which was conducted at his request and on behalf of the Waihi Strike Committee. There was then no sign of any blow on the back of the head. The left ear locked as if it was nearly pulverised and crushed into the skull. He called the attention of Dr. Savage to the injury, and the doctor said it was the result of a blow—

Mr. Mays objected, and the evidence was disallowed.

Witness (continuing): From the left ear to the right eye was one continuous bruise, evidently caused by the one blow. There were several abrasions—not less than six and not more than eight—on both sides of the cheek, and one on the chin about an inch long. The nose was swollen and the cartilage broken. There was no sign of a blow or abrasion on the top of the head, nor yet on the back of the head. A certificate was furnished by the doctors in due course.

Mr. Canham was then cross-examined by Mr. Mays concerning the second post mortem.

"Did you examine the inside of the scalp after it had been turned back?" asked Mr. Mays.

"No," replied the witness; "but I saw the doctors"

"No, no, no, no," said Mr. Mays, "we do not want what the doctors saw."

"Did you examine the outside of the skull after the scalp was removed?" continued counsel.

"No; but the doctors-"

"No, no, no," said Mr. Mays. "We don't want that."

"Did you examine the dura mater to see the blood films?" once more queried Mr. Mays.

"No, but I saw the doctors-"

"No, no, no, no," said Mr. Mays. "Then why have you the temerity to come down here and say there were no signs of injury to the top and back of the head?" he demanded as a sort of afterthought.

"Because," said witness, who at last succeeded in getting a word in, "I saw the two doctors make the examination, and because they

found no signs of injury there."

On Saturday, December 14, Mrs. Evans (widow of the murdered man) was in the witness-box. She stated she visited her husband in the hospital on November 12, about half-past 11 in the morning, immediately after she was informed of the occurrence by the police. Her husband's body was swollen twice the ordinary size, his head and neck were one size, there was a cut on the right side of his head, the right eve was black, the left eye was very black, and there was a mark across the bridge of the nose, also over the left eye and left ear. The private parts were black, as though they had been hurt. She knew he had a revolver. He had had it about eight years; it was second-hand when he got it. She had often handled the revolver since she had been married, but never before. She was married six years. The revolver produced, and alleged to have been taken from her husband, was not his. Her husband had never had another revolver. Pressed as to whether she had seen aggressive tactics used by the police against her husband, witness stated she had seen some of them, "on the Friday previous to her husband being brutally murdered." One policeman pushed him off the footpath on to the roadway against a mounted -constable's horse. Evans turned and got into "holts" with him, and was just on the point of throwing him when about half a dozen other police arrived and commenced to handle him roughly. A constable asked the other police to stand back. She then went up to her husband, put her arms around him and said to the police: "If you hit him, you hit me." A policeman replied: "I'd just as soon hit you."

Thomas Franklin, Secretary of the Waihi Miners' Union, stated that on November 9 an attempt had been made to raid the hall; it was made by a mob of scabs headed by Harvey (the "Pug"). He had

been warned that an attack might be made on the hall.

The Coroner's summing-up was exceedingly brief. He uttered no word of condemnation re Harvey—made no comment on the naked perjury that had been committed by various police witnesses; but he was careful to impress upon the jury that "the state of mind of the deceased was more aggressive than that of the other strikers that morning." After quoting the evidence of the gun expert, Hazard, the Coroner referred to Wade's evidence and also to that of Harvey. He said he would leave it to the jury to say what credence they could give to the latter's evidence. He pointed out that Harvey corroborated Wade, and said that, although his evidence had in some particulars clashed with that of Constable Maunsell, it was in the main corrobora-

tive. Ritchie's evidence that he saw Doyle fire two shots, whereas the gun expert said Doyle's revolver had not been discharged for at least two months, was commented upon; but the Coroner added that "the point was irrelevant." In dealing with the medical evidence, the Coroner said the two doctors who had performed the second post mortem should have been placed in the box and subjected to cross-examination. It was most unsatisfactory not to have them present in court. (He did not explain why he failed to exercise his power to subpoena them.) He then read the Act on justifiable homicide, and requested the jury to retire and consider their verdict.

The jury, after a very brief retirement, returned the following verdict:—

"That the jury were of the unanimous opinion that deceased, Frederick George Evans, met with death as the result of a blow from a baton, delivered by Constable Gerald Wade on the morning of November 12, at the back of the Waihi Miners' Union Hall, Waihi, whilst in the execution of his duty, and that he (Constable Wade) was fully justified in striking deceased down."

As was subsequently written in THE MAGRILAND WORKER, it was the only verdict that the majority of such a jury might have been expected to give.

#### CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE.

#### DR. CRAIG'S EXTRAORDINARY EVIDENCE,

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side. —J. Russell Lowell.



HE evidence of Dr. Craig, who conducted the first post mortem, deserves separate mention. The Federation's case was that Evans was killed by violence to the front of his head, and not by any baton blew on the back of the head while he was running, and that Wade in all probability was never shot by Evans, this view being supported by the sworn and unshaken testimony of that remarkably clear-headed witness.

Mrs. Sorensen. Dr. Craig's general testimony, under a rigid cross-examination, might have been termed professional fencing and hedging. The doctor, however, definitely asserted that death was due to a blow on the back of the head, and did not result from the effect of a blow on the front of the head.

The doctor declared that when he made his first examination he noticed nothing particular about the right eye. He examined the whole of the head, and yet didn't notice any injuries except an abrasion about-

three inches to the back of the right ear. He considered that a sufficient examination, but apparently overlooked the substantial injury to the nose—which must have been the result of severe violence to the front of the head, and he didn't examine the body at all until after death—two days later. He had seen the man in the meantime, but had made no further examination of him during life.

The doctor's next statement was interesting in the extreme. At the post mortem he discovered a bruise on the left eyelid and another on the right eyelid, which might have resulted from the same causee.g., a hit with an instrument. He was led to believe Evans fell on uneven, probably stony, ground. [Note that there was no evidence so far of stony ground.] Yet, the doctor insisted, a blow from a blunt instrument could not cause the bruises. It would all depend whether a man was conscious or not what part of him would strike the ground first after a blow on the back of the head. If conscious, after receiving the blow, he would put his hands out. If unconscious, his face would probably touch the ground first. [Note.—This although the blow was downward from a tall man to a short man. All this on the assumption that Evans was running up-hill.] The very next answer was that if unconscious the knees would be more likely to strike the ground first if running up-hill. Again, a man might pitch forward on his face first. If unconscious, the revolver might be clinched in his hand for a short time. Yet, again, it might not. Finally, insensibility would be absolute if the revolver were out of his hand. [Note.-Wade swore it was; Harvey swore it wasn't-that he grasped the dying man by the throat with one hand and tore the revolver away with the other.] The doctor asserted his personal knowledge of the locality (he lives next door). He made it clear that in his mind Evans was running up-hill; and when Mr. Lundon pointed out that Evans was running down-hill at the time, the expert changed and said: "If unconscious, the knees would likely come in contact with the ground first only if running up-hill.

Dr. Craig further said that there was no blood in the vomit in the cell, showing that no blood had been swallowed, although the brain was lacerated, and vomiting was the first sign of returning consciousness, and Evans had vomited before he (witness) got to the cell. The day after death the cartilage of the nose was found to be dislocated and deflected to the left, and this might have been caused by a blow from an instrument delivered from the right. Here the doctor strove to make believe that the baton blow which lacerated the back of the head behind the right ear could also have done this damage to the nose. [Police batons are stiff wood and not supplejacks, which might curl round from the back of the head to the nose in one blow.] There were two contusions on the back of the head, said the doctor, one of them being right on the top of the head, the lower one going from the bottom of the right side to the top of the occipital bone. The first contusion was on the very top of the centre of that bone. These were quite separate and distinct, yet could have been caused by the same baton blow. The doctor then went on to say that Evans' was a "fairly thick skull." A few minutes later he altered this opinion, and substituted the word "average" for "fairly thick." If it had been a thin skull, he said, it might have been fractured; yet it wasn't, and there wasn't even a cut on the scalp.

[Drs. Savage and Bull found that the skull was "exceedingly

thin."

Dr. Craig finally stated that the position of the bullet wound in Constable Wade's body was a matter of doubt; it might be three feet, and yet again it might be four feet, from the ground. He thought the bullet entered the body about the centre of the stomach, turned towards the left slightly, and lodged not more than two inches from the point of penetration, and just under the fat. Yet he had probed the small distance of the wound, and could find no bullet. If a shot was fired at Wade from a distance of only four or five yards, the witness continued, the bullet need not penetrate further than the two inches, although it struck no gristle or bone, and nothing but skin and fat. It would depend on the nature of the weapon [N.B.—The revolver produced in Court, and from which it was alleged the shot was fired, was a "bull-dog."]

At a later stage, Dr. Craig was recalled, apparently by way of endeavor to minimise the sensational effect of the evidence given by the Union women who witnessed the murder of Evans. The doctor, in his second effort, said "the injury to the eyes and the cartilage of the nose

might be caused by Evans falling down."

The most interesting part of the doctor's second testimony was that in which he asserted that "very little value could be attached to any second post mortem held later than 48 hours as far as the brain was concerned, because removing the brain from the cranial cavity he made a particular dissection of the brain for signs of haemorrhage in the substance of the brain, and practically sliced the brain to ribbons, and the brain being cut up in the way it was, he could not return it to the cranial cavity. So it was sewn up in the stomach, where putrefaction would go on much more rapidly than in the cranial cavity. In any case, in a warm climate, the brain would putrefy rapidly—much more so than most other organs. He had cut the brain up into small pieces, and the effect of that would be to preclude any other medical man from detecting any misapprehension of his as to the cause of death, so far as the brain was concerned."

Another very interesting item was the doctor's admission that if Evans had been kicked, it would depend on where he was kicked as to whether the marks would show. If he was kicked all over the body, some of the bruises would be sure to show. A man could be kicked on certain parts without marks showing for some considerable time. [Yet Mr. Mays threatened some of the female witnesses with prosecution for perjury because, he alleged, there were no marks on the body to substantiate their evidence that the scabs kicked Evans. As a matter of fact there were marks on the body, as is shown elsewhere.]

Dr. Craig further stated that he arrived at the hospital at about 8.5 a.m., and Wade was already there, but no medical man had seen Evans till he did at the police station after 9 o'clock. He said he

could not explain why at the second post mortem Dr. Savage should certify there were no signs of violence except one blow over the bridge of nose, left eye and left ear. He would not agree with Drs. Savage and Bull in saying that it was a very thin skull. Would not agree with Savage when he (Savage) said: "I consider laceration of brain on right side due to blow on front of left side of head. Could find no trace of injury caused by other blow."

Mr. Mays objected at this stage that Drs. Savage and Bull's certificate could not be referred to unless the whole report should be produced; and when Mr. Lundon promptly tendered the report, Mr. Mays took the extraordinary course of refusing to permit its production. Mr. Lundon then suggested that the doctors should be called by the Court as witnesses, but this course did not meet with the approval of the Crown.

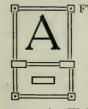
Dr. Craig further announced that since his previous appearance in the box the bullet had been located in Wade's body.

But the bullet was not produced in Court, nor was any evidence tendered that it fitted the revolver alleged to have belonged to Evans. The degree of secrecy and suppression observed by the authorities in connection with this matter strengthened the general suspicion that something was being industriously hushed up for the especial protection of a professional thug who was a police protege.

#### CHAPTER THIRTY.

## JUSTICE CARICATURED IN THE POLICE COURT.

The greatest of all injustice is that which goes under the name of law; and of all sorts of tyranny the forcing of the letter of the law against equity is the most unsupportable.—L'ESTRANGE.



FTER THE WORKER "Special" was issued, every frenzied effort was made by the Massey Government to "disprove" the damning facts therein set forth in cold type in exposure of the Government's conspiracy with the mine-owners. To this end a series of Police Court prosecutions was framed-up, and almost every Unionist mentioned in the "Special" was subjected to a prosecution. The burlesque of Justice was so palpable that

even the Waihi scabs openly joked about it.

On November 20, Arthur Doyle was charged with having pointed a revolver at Waihi on November 12.

He appeared before Messrs. G. Lawlor and W. H. Toy, J's.P., and, pleading guilty, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, notwithstanding that all the evidence showed that his revolver had not been fired, and that he had only pointed it to frighten off a gang of toughs who were intent on murdering him, and who indeed had brutally maltreated him and injured him most seriously. The sentence was one of the most outrageous ever inflicted in an Australasian Court. Of the two "justices" who dealt with Doyle, G. Lawlor is a local insurance agent, and W. H. Toy is a sharebroker and is also Waihi correspondent for the Auckland "Herald," a paper whose Waihi reports have always been bitterly hostile to and slanderous of the Union miners.

The supreme caricature was when Henry Bostock and Henry Gray (two of the principal scabs) were charged with having assaulted Herbert Kennedy on November 12. The scabs were defended by Mr. Cotter, K.C., while Mr. Selwyn Mays (of the Crown Law Office) was alleged to be "appearing for the Crown to prosecute."

In opening the case, Mr. Mays said the case arose out of conditions that were typical of everything that had taken place since the commencement of the strike, that the prosecution was instituted "because the police had been vilified," and because it was "particularly wished to refute the diabolical statements made by the Federation of Labor as to the condition of things at Waihi." Mr. Mays also said "the affair had been magnified into a riot, although it was only a series of small fights," and he asserted that "the Federationists had brought the trouble on themselves." He made it clear that the calling of Kennedy as a witness was not so much for the purpose of securing a conviction against his assailants as to endeavor to wring from him a refutation of "the wild statements he had been making outside." Mr. Mays, in concluding his remarks, asserted that the police had, "after considerable difficulty," succeeded in getting Mr. Kennedy to Waihi as a witness. At the conclusion of his evidence Mr. Kennedy gave this statement the lie direct.

Never before in Australasia was such a comedy in the conduct of a court case witnessed. The examination-in-chief of Mr. Kennedy was brief indeed; but when Mr. Cotter—heatedly blustering and personally offensive—entered upon his cross-examination, even the representatives of the capitalist papers opened their eyes in astonishment when they beheld the alleged prosecutor coolly instructing the cross-examiner, and finally himself entering upon a hostile and savage cross-examination of his own witness, with threats as to perjury, etc., when the witness still maintained that every statement made by him in The Maoriland Worker was substantially correct.

While the case was being heard, Commissioner Cullen (whose conduct was involved) sat in Court and interjected for the assistance of counsel for the scab side. Barry, the mine superintendent, had a chair behind the accused strike-breakers, and laughed loudly and triumphantly whenever it appeared to him that a point had been scored by the agitated K.C. against the Unionists. A police sergeant deliberately stepped up to the witness-box and whispered in the ear of a constable

who was floundering through his evidence. And, to cap the whole screaming farce, three policemen volunteered the information that they had been employed as drivers on the company's brakes when no Waihi man could be found to drive the scabs to and from the mine.

In no single instance did Kennedy make a retraction of his statements in The Worker "Special." When he persisted that he personally saw one constable strike his whip down on Mr. Burke, Mr. Mays (who was supposed to be representing Mr. Kennedy) thundered: "Do you know that Burke has since been to the hospital to see the people who were supposed to be injured, and do you know that he has denounced your Federation and has given his opinion of your crowd and denounced the lies you have been telling?" [Later on Mr. Burke told the writer that Mays' statement was altogether outside of fact.]

Mr. Mays repeatedly sneered about "cowardly men"—he meant the strikers, of course, not the police—and after having unsuccessfully endeavored to show that Mr. Semple was on the street when one attack was made on the Unionists, and having learned that he was inside the Union Hall, Mr. Mays then declared in a wild and whirling sort of way: "Well, Semple should have been outside." [Of course, it's most inconsiderate of Semple not to be in exactly the place where his enemies want him.]

Various police witnesses alleged that vile language was used by both men and women on the Unionists' side, but in not a single case was the name of the person using the words given, neither was any explanation offered as to why the allegedly guilty persons were not prosecuted—and it is too late in the day to ask us to believe that the police would have missed such an excellent chance against the strikers.

Constable O'Connor (Sydenham), Constable Williamson (Waihi), and a constable from Ashburton confessed to having acted as drivers of the scab brakes, but it was not made known whether the police were farmed out to the mine-owners as were the State troops in the Colorado mining war, or whether the Government directly paid the wages of those constables whom it compelled to act as scab drivers in the interests of the mine-owners.

Sergeant McKinnon (who rather proudly declared that he had "done service at Denniston during the coal strike of 1890") said: "The police, on the Saturday in connection with which Mr. Kennedy charged them with riding down women and children, had done nothing more than they had a right to do, and would have shown weakness had they done anything else."

"Rev." Cleary (C.E.) declared that a number of the scabs were members of his church, and in a general statement of the things he alleged he had seen done by the Unionists he volunteered the information that "in some cases he had felt it his duty to inform the police against the strikers and to demand their dispersal."

The police evidence was given with Commissioner Cullen sitting in front of the witness-box. All evidence concerning the burglary at the hall, all evidence concerning the theft at the stores, all evidence concerning the murder of Evans, all evidence concerning the action of the toughs and thugs (including many of the police and scab Crown witnesses in these cases) in ordering citizens to leave the town under threat of personal violence and death, was debarred. The Crown's conduct of the cases was the veriest farce. The "prosecutions" amounted to nothing more than a scandalous frame-up at the public expense for the purpose of procuring a fabricated vindication of the Massey Government and the police generally, and a certain police officer particularly; and also for the purpose of securing a manufactured "refutation" of the Federation's charges—concerning which the Massey Government dared not permit a public inquiry to be held.

In the end Gray and Bostock were fined 20s. each. They both admitted having attacked Kennedy; and the penalties inflicted contrast significantly with the sentences of one year's jail imposed in the cases of the Unionists, who were charged that they might commit an offence

at some future time.

James A. Delaney was charged with assaulting Conrick, and Conrick was not even subpoenaed by the police to give evidence. Delaney was ordered to pay a nominal fine. Had Conrick been called it would have been impossible to suppress the fact that Harvey had held a loaded revolver to his head while kicking him along the street.

At one stage, the "Snakecharmer" occupied a chair inside the railing, and near him sat Mr. Barry, the mine superintendent. The big Maori held a big pipe in his hand, and wore a big scab badge in the lapel of his coat. On the previous day, when the Union Vice-president, McLennan, sat inside the rail he was ordered out by the police, who even refused to let him stand outside the rail near the Union's solicitor.

It was freely admitted in evidence that the scabs had been armed with batons specially made for them. It was made clear that the police were quite well aware that they were so armed.

John Elsegood, who was also attacked by the Snakecharmer and other scabs, and who successfully defended himself, was prosecuted by the Government's order; and it was only the fact that certain police officers were capable of speaking the truth in the witness-box that saved him from jail.

Kenneth Kidd, who was attacked by one of the scabs—the Snakecharmer—and belted his assailant, was prosecuted by the police, acting under Government instructions, and the Magistrate was asked to send him to jail or otherwise penalise him for having refused to permit himself to be bashed.

During the Police Court cases one Union witness (Barrett) was deliberately confronted with a list of convictions which the Crown alleged had been recorded against him at Taihape, Waihi, and elsewhere. Not one of these convictions belonged to the witness. Police officers in Court knew the lie of the suggestion, but they never said a word to right the wrong, and no honorable apology whatever was offered to the witness by counsel guilty of putting forward the implication.

When Kenneth Kidd was in the witness-box, one of the rottenest lies ever employed to trap a witness was made use of. Kidd was asked if it was not a fact that he had written a certain letter threatening what he would do to the scabs, and when he denied having so written, Mr. Mays told him: "Now, I warn you, Kidd. We have that letter." It subsequently transpired that Mr. Mays did not have the letter—could not have had it, because it was never written; and yet Mr. Kidd was practically threatened with prosecution for perjury because he spoke the truth. Of course, this line of conduct was quite characteristic of the Massey Government's doings throughout the strike.

The case of Oliver Noakes was an extraordinary revelation. The police evidence, as presented by Mr. Mays for the Crown, showed that 20 or 30 scabs made an attack on Noakes and sought to do him bodily harm, that Noakes fled from them, and when they were overtaking him, turned and knocked down the foremost of his assailants. Then the Government came along and asked that the man assailed should be sent to jail for not letting his assailants kill him.

The charge was that Noakes had been guilty of threatening behaviour by striking a man, name unknown. The police witnesses said they would not be able to recognise the man even if they saw him again. Noakes said the man was Delaney! And Delaney was a chief police assistant from the scab ranks! Constable O'Connor, who gave evidence for the prosecution, said "there was no doubt that the man Noakes struck was endeavoring to assault him." Constable Skinner (who denied that anything had been said about wrestling) deposed that he "saw nothing to suggest that Noakes was looking for trouble. Some men were punching at Noakes, who was endeavoring to cover himself. He pulled two men away and struck one with his crop. Saw Noakes knocked down. Noakes had a pretty hot time of it, and from what he saw was fully justified in striking back." Thomas Bowden, a member of the scab union, swore that "Doherty said if he had had his way he would have killed Noakes."

The whole "frame-up" of the case against Noakes was so apparent that the Magistrate said there was no need to call evidence for the defence. "He was satisfied that Noakes could not have acted otherwise."

The real purpose of the prosecution of Noakes was then made apparent. Mr. Mays arose and demanded that Mr. Lundon should now ask Noakes to retract his statement published in THE WORKER to the effect that Cullen had struck him. This Mr. Lundon declined to do; and Mr. Mays demanded that Mr. Noakes should then and there withdraw his allegations. Mr. Noakes replied that he had no retraction to make; he stood by his statement. Mr. Mays then took the extraordinary course of reading to the Court Mr. Cullen's version of the incident in the lane.

#### CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE.

## HARVEY, ALIAS ORMEROD.

Bible in one hand, bludgeon in the other,
Cain-like you come upon and slay your brother.

-Francis Adams.



ALTER EDMUND HARVEY, police assistant, scab, and bruiser, figured prominently in almost every violent incident connected with the Waihi strike.

In the Police Court proceedings, Harvey stated on oath that he had never carried a revolver in New Zealand, had never travelled under any other name but that of Walter Edmund Harvey, and had not carried a baton on November 12.

Both Union, police, and scab witnesses swore that Harvey had a baton on November 12. Inquiries revealed that he had worked at certain places under the respective names of William Harvey and Ormerod, and information was quickly forthcoming as to his possesion of a revolver.

He was put back in the witness-box in the Coroner's Court on December 13 for cross-examination. "What is your name?" asked Mr. Lundon. "William Edmund Harvey," replied the witness, sotto voce. "What?" said Lundon. "Walter Edmund Harvey," said witness. Asked if this was the first time he had called himself "William," Harvey objected to answer, and Mr. Mays sought to block the question.

Mr. Lundon asked for the production of the Magistrate's notes in the Police Court cases to show that Harvey had sworn that he had never been known by any other name than that of Walter Edmund Harvey. Mr. Mays objected, and the request was refused. Harvey at last admitted, after much hesitation, that he had so sworn. Mr. Mays recommended Harvey to answer, telling him that "it didn't matter if he had gone under a dozen different names."

Harvey swore he was not under the name of "William" at Gray and Menzies', and then declared he couldn't say whether he did work under the name of "William" at that place. He said he could not remember what he swore in the Court a fortnight ago, but if he had sworn that he was employed as a warder at Avondale for a month under the name of Harvey it would not be true. He had been engaged at more than one public institution under various names.

Mr. Mays objected, and Mr. Wallnutt said the cross-examination had gone far enough.

Mr. Lundon argued that he was entitled to test the witness's credibility, and he declared that when he had showed that the witness was a perjurer, surely it would destroy every vestige of worth of the witness's testimony.

Mr. Lawlor (foreman of the jury) declared that the jury "did not want to hear all this." With two exceptions, the jurors seemed to wholly side with Harvey.

"Did you not work under the name of Ormerod at Avondale Hospital?" asked counsel. Harvey refused to answer. "Is not the name Ormerod branded on your right forearm?" was a further question. Harvey, at this stage, became violently agitated. He thumped the witness-box, and loudly shouted abuse at the barrister. He declared he wouldn't answer the question. Fear was written on his countenance.

Foreman Juror Lawlor once more sought to prevent counsel's questions. The clerk made some inaudible comment, and Mr. Mays (who evinced the utmost concern on behalf of Harvey) protested that this was not a criminal prosecution. The Coroner once more said "the matter had gone far enough."

Witness now answered that Ormerod was not his name. It was true he had brought a man named Ormerod to a certain place in Auckland and had presented him as his brother. The man was his brother, "And was his name Ormerod?" asked Mr. Lundon.

Juror Dick: "We don't want to hear that."

Juror Lawlor: "I protest against this going any further. The jury doesn't want to hear it."

Mr. Lundon: "It's not what you want to hear; it's a right I have to continue my cross-examination to destroy the credibility of the witness on the ground that he is a perjurer. I have a right to be permissed to satisfy the jury of that; but if the jury doesn't want to hear further evidence of this man's character, then that may satisfy other people that the jury is not impartial."

Mr. Mays once again declared that Mr. Lundon was not entitled to attack Harvey's credibility, and Mr. Wallnutt refused to permit the cross-examination to go further.

Harvey admitted that he did swear before Mr. Burgess that he had never carried a revolver in New Zealand. That statement was true. Was at Karangahake on Sunday, November 10, the day after he struck Evans. He did not present a revolver at anyone at Karangahake that day. It would be absolutely false to say that he did. He refused to say who were his companions on that day.

The passing of a note by Juror Ellis to Mr. Mays, in which the juror asked counsel to prevent the names of the girls who were with Harvey from being given, called forth an indignant protest from Mr. Lundon, who said that in 19 years of experience at the Bar he had never seen such an outrageous proceeding. It was a sufficient reason to disband that jury altogether and to disqualify the juryman.

After the excitement occasioned by the juror's extraordinary action had subsided, Harvey said that, knowing that he was liable for seven years' imprisonment for perjury if he did not state what was true, he still said that he did not present a revolver at anyone at Karangahake on November 10.

Asked if he did not use the words: "I've got it on you, Bill?" witness hedged considerably, and shouted loudly at counsel when the

latter referred to him as Ormerod. Mr. Mays and certain of the jurors became visibly agitated, and repeated efforts were made by them to terminate the cross-examination and save the situation for Harvey, who once more swore that at no time did he have a revolver in his possession on November 11, but he would not deny chasing a Federationist down Seddon street on that date.

Juror Lawlor once more protested, and endeavored to stop the eross-examination.

Harvey admitted that he had carried a baton ever since the scabs started to walk to work, but said he would swear that he lost it on November 11. If Ritchie or anyone else had sworn that he had a baton on November 12, it would be untrue. He (Harvey) was the first person to enter the hall on November 12.

Mr. Lundon was seeking to learn from witness whether he had been authorised by the police, the Union, or the scab organisation to go into the hall, when Juror Lawlor again interposed.

Harvey now said he had not knocked on the door until he heard a shot fired, although he had sworn in the Police Court that he had knocked on the door prior to the shot being fired. If other witnesses had sworn that he knocked on the door before the shot was fired, they would not be telling the truth. Asked if the first shot had not struck Johnston, he said he knew nothing about Johnston. Mr. Lundon read witness' Police Court depositions, in which he said the first shot struck Johnston.

Harvey next swore that he saw no other person after the shot was fired. He asserted he had not said a word about this in his Police Court evidence. Mr. Lundon read from witness's evidence in the Police Court to the effect that when he came through the hall he saw the men and women going out the back way.

Harvey, later on, swore that Evans fired two shots, not one as Constable Wade alleged; and he held that the second shot was meant for himself. He held that the evidence of Constable Maunsell and others that Evans was face downward and that he (Harvey) was on top of him, was untrue. He gripped Evans by the throat with his right hand, and took the revolver from him with his left hand. He declared that Constable Maunsell had made a mis-statement. He was not dragged off Evans. If Constable Maunsell said he pulled him (witness) off Evans roughly, the statement was quite untrue. The revolver was firmly clutched in Evans' hand. In his previous evidence he had said he "wrenched" the revolver from Evans. He now said this was untrue. He was perfectly close to Evans. "I almost kissed him." the witness brutally said, in a coarse effort to joke. At this time, Harvey declared, Evans' nose was not broken, and there were no marks whatever on his eyes or on the ear. He could suggest no one other than himself who was in a position to have made those marks on Evans. Evans was immediately taken charge of from him by the police, but he would not suggest that the police inflicted those injuries after they had taken Evans from him. Up to the time he got Evans on his feet, no one but himself could have done it. Yet he didn't do it. He denied that he had ever had his hand in Evans' pocket. The revolver he produced in the paddock on November 12 he took from his coat pocket, where he placed it after taking it from Evans.

After Evans was taken away by the police, he "went to look after Doyle. He didn't get a chance to hurt Doyle; there were too many police there."

E. E. Canham, President of the Auckland Waterside Workers' Union, was next placed in the box, and was proceeding to state that Harvey had made a statement in his presence in which he confessed that he had a revolver at Karangahake on November 10, when Mr. Mays objected that no evidence could be tendered in this respect, since Harvey had not been asked about such a confession.

Mr. Wallnutt upheld the objection, and Mr. Lundon then told! Canham to stand down, and immediately called upon Harvey to re-enterthe box.

Harvey admitted that he had had a conversation with Mr. Lark in Mr. Canham's presence, and also in the presence of Mr. Lundon, but denied that he had confessed to having a revolver in Karangahake on November 10.

Mr. Mays suggested to the Coroner that he should ask Harvey if the conversation was confidential. Harvey took the cue, and at once said the conversation was confidential. He was proceeding to tell what he said, when Mr. Mays once more took alarm, and objected to Harvey giving his account. Mr. Mays asked the Coroner to prevent any further reference to the alleged confession.

Further cross-examined, Harvey said it was a fact that during the dinner hour he had gone to see the two ladies who were with him at Karangahake on November 10. He declined to say where he had gone to meet them, or who they were. Pressed by Mr. Lundon, the witness became furious; he almost danced in the witness-box; he thumped the wood in front of him, and declared that neither Mr. Lundon nor anyone else would make him tell where he had gone. "You're not fit to be a lawyer," he almost screamed at Lundon. The abuse of counsel by witness went unnoticed so far as the Coroner was concerned.

"Did you not talk to your lady friends about the Karangahake incident?" persisted Mr. Lundon. Witness refused to answer. The Coroner declined to compel an answer. [It was afterward stated to the writer that the place Harvey visited to meet his lady friends was the house of one of the jurors.]

Mr. Lundon next proceeded to ask questions concerning a second conversation Harvey had with Lark during the lunch hour. Mr. Mays raised the extraordinary objection that this conversation was also privileged. He declared that he had seen Mr. Lundon there, and he asked the Coroner to rule that "it was a conversation between solicitor and client." He urged that Harvey was asking Mr. Lundon for legal advice, and that therefore the facts could not be admitted.

Inspector Wright added a word or two, and Mr. Lundon replied to Mr. Mays that even a child would be expected to know that there was no such thing as "confidential conversation" between a solicitor on one side and a witness on the other.

Resuming his cross-examination of Harvey, counsel for the Union once more had the witness floundering in a bad bog. Harvey fumed and became almost uncontrollable. Furiously seizing the Court Bible, he was about to fling it at Mr. Lundon's head, but suddenly dropped it back on the bench.

Mr. Mays again rose to block the cross-examination, and the Coroner once more said the matter had gone far enough.

Mr. Lundon 'protested against the obvious endeavor to save the situation for Harvey. He said his instructions were that Harvey had a baten on the day of the riot, that he had had a revolver two days previously, that he had it on November 12, that it was probably Harvey who killed Evans, and that it may have been Harvey's shot that struck Wade. His cross-examination would be in this direction.

Without remonstrance from the Court, Harvey once more shouted from the witness-box: "You're a disgrace to a court of justice, Mr. Lundon."

Mr. Lundon next sought to ascertain from witness if it was not a fact that Lark had advised him that it didn't matter what Mr. Mays had said to him, he should speak the truth. Mr. Mays continued to interject, practically supplying witness's answers.

Mr. Canham (recalled) said that Harvey, in his presence and while in conversation with Mr. Lark and Mr. Lundon, had admitted that he had committed perjury concerning the Karangahake incident of November 10. Mr. Lundon urged Harvey to speak the truth, and the latter had said: "Suppose I did say I had a revolver—well, I had one—they'd put me up for perjury." Mr. Lundon replied: "You'll have the opportunity to retract or qualify that statement this afternoon."

On December 14, Roy Hastings, employed at the Commercial Hotel, Waihi (where Harvey and a large number of police were boarding), stated that he had seen Harvey with a revolver on the previous Sunday on the way to the beach. A motor was passing, and one of the party in the car touched Harvey's horse on the head, and Harvey, saying "he would put a bullet in the back tyre," fired the revolver. Harvey had approached witness that morning and had said: "I am in your hands to get me out of this trouble." "And," added the witness, "he further said that if I didn't he would do for me."

William Hunt, miner, said he was sitting down in front of the Crown boarding-house at Karangahake on Sunday week, in company with Patrick Handfling, Tim Watts, George Stolz, and Harry Gorman, and others, when he saw Harvey, who, with two girls, was driving towards Waihi in a vehicle. As Harvey drove past, he pulled out a revolver and pointed it at witness, and said: "All right, Bill, I've got you covered." He reported the incident to a policeman two days later.

George Stolz, Henry Gorman, Claud Watts, and Patrick Handfling (Karangahake residents) gave corroborative evidence. Mrs. Alice Edwards, of Bulltown, Waihi, said she had seen Harvey with a baton in his hand on November 12. He was terribly excited,

and appeared to be waiting for instructions.

Percy J. Goldie (of Hague, Smith, and Co., ironmongers) stated that he sold a revolver and 50 cartridges to Harvey about a fortnight before the riot took place. Harvey had come to him, accompanied by two officers of police, that afternoon (December 14), and had asked him to identify a revolver. This witness had been unable to do. The revolver now produced in Court was not the one sold by him to Harvey. (So, that Harvey had more than one revolver.)

James Coutts said he had seen Harvey with a revolver in the pantry of the Commercial Hotel. He (Harvey) was then shaking the

revolver in his hand. This would be about a fortnight previous.

Detective Sweeney (recalled) said he had searched Harvey for a revolver about November 9, on account of complaints that were made. He then failed to find any revolver on him. He had searched Harvey again that afternoon as a consequence of evidence adduced in Court that morning, and had found a revolver, fully loaded in each chamber, amongst Harvey's effects. Harvey was not yet under arrest as far as he knew. He found no other weapons there. There was no baton in his room. He didn't ask him any questions concerning the bullets found. Harvey offered no explanation why he had the firearm in his possession. Had heard Harvey state in Court that he (Harvey) had never had a revolver in New Zealand. The revolver was found on a ledge near the floor, in a corner, and was covered over with some papers. Mr. Goldie had informed witness that Harvey had paid 30s. down for the revolver, and 2s. 6d. was still owing on it. He never questioned Harvey as to what had become of the remaining 44 bullets.

After these remarkable disclosures, everybody looked for action on the part of the authorities; but Harvey still walked about as freely-and as jauntily as ever. Towards the end of December he left Waihi, and proceeded to Auckland, where he was met by police officers, who fraternised with him and treated him like an honored guest. A prominent detective was especially friendly to him, and, unmolested, he took

a ticket for Sydney.

But the Auckland Federationists were not prepared to permit matters to glide along so smoothly, and on December 23, through Mr. A. E. Glover, M.P., telegrams were sent to Commissioner Cullen demanding to know why Harvey was being allowed to leave New Zealand without any action being taken against him in connection with his evidence, and while a charge was pending in relation to the revolver incident at Karangahake. The Commissioner replied that he had instructed the police to prevent Harvey leaving the Dominion.

Mr. Massey was also wired to, and replied that the papers in the case had been referred to the Crown Law Officers for advice as to

whether there was evidence to support a charge of perjury.

Mr. Herdman was likewise wired to, and was notified that Harvey was leaving for Sydney—that he had been in Huddart, Parker's office, and that he was moving around in company with detectives. Mr. Herdman replied that "the matter had been attended to."

Inspector Wright was wired to and warned that Harvey was leaving by the Wimmera for Sydney; and the officer-in-charge of the Police Station at Waihi was similarly telegraphed to. To these two last wires

mo reply was vouchsafed.

Late in the afternoon of December 24 additional wires were sent to Mr. Massey and Mr. Herdman, complimenting them on their policy of masterly inactivity, and twitting them with thus enabling Harvey to evade justice. On December 26 Mr. Herdman replied that he "had asked Commissioner Cullen for an explanation," and on the same day Mr. Massey telegraphed that the Minister for Justice had informed thim that Harvey was on board the Wimmera. "Steps will be taken to bring him back on arrival of vessel at Sydney," was the concluding sentence of Mr. Massey's wire.

In spite of all the telegrams sent, the Government permitted Harvey to leave New Zealand, and then sent a detective to bring him

back after expensive extradition proceedings.

Harvey was brought back to Auckland, and from there remanded to Waihi, where he was charged in the Police Court on January 20, and was committed to take his trial at the next Supreme Court sessions at Auckland. An effort was made by the lawyer for the defence to have the trial set down for Hamilton (a farming centre), but the application was refused by the Magistrate.

Harvey was mixed up in almost innumerable fights at Waikinothere was scarcely an attack on a Unionist but he was foremost in it. At Waihi, wherever a brawl or riot occurred, he figured most prominently. He was foremost in the attempted raid on the hall on November 9; he was the most conspicuous scab in the disturbances of November 11: he was the first to enter the hall when the raid was made on November 12; he was there to grip the dying Evans by the throat when he fell; he was among the first of those who tried to murder Doyle; he was at every turn a principal ally and a favored protege of the police—they couldn't even take the dying man to the hospital without During the Police Court proceedings he fraternised his attendance. with some of the police, joked with others, and some he peremptorily ordered about. He sent Mine Superintendent Barry on an errand during the Police Court proceedings; and during the inquest was almost painfully familiar with the Coroner, with whom he sometimes walked the streets.

#### CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO.

## POLICE COURT PERJURIES.

Men swear so oft on very slight pretence,
That perjuries are common as bad pence.
—Cowper.



ENRY BARFOOT—who fled from Waihi after the murder of Evans, and during the driving out—voluntarily returned to Waihi on November 28, and surrendered to the police to answer the charge laid against him. He had been working under an assumed name at a sawmill at Mamaku. On his return he was placed under arrest on a charge of having pointed a loaded revolver at Walter Harvey on November 12. He was conveyed:

to the Police Station, where an effort was made to extract a statement from him, while his solicitor (Mr. Lundon) was for more than an hour denied access to him. The Magistrate, when the matter was mentioned in Court, expressed strong disapproval of what had been done. Mr. Burgess, also, after hearing the evidence for the prosecution, decided that there was no case for Barfoot to answer.

The Crown adopted the remarkable course of keeping Harvey out of the witness-box. If that act alone was interpreted as evidence of the Government's complicity in the November 12 crime, the Government had itself only to blame. When Harvey did appear, it was on a subpoena as a "witness for the defence," and then Mr. Mays fought desperately to save the thug from Mr. Lundon's cross-examination.

Some extraordinarily-conflicting evidence was given on the scab. side.

Perjury stalked naked and unashamed and unrebuked through the Waihi Court. Scab after scab, thug after thug, cheerfully swore on the Court Bible that he would speak "the-truth,-the-whole-truth,-and-nothing-but-the-truth,-so-help-me,-God," and then quite cheerfully proceeded to perjure his scab soul in the interests of the slave-driver and moneygetter.

W. Ritchie swore he saw Barfoot fire a revolver. He didn't see-Harvey pulling at the door when the assault was made on the hall. Hewas not without instructions—he knew what to do. He had a baton in his hip pocket. He saw Harvey draw a baton that morning. He had given a signed statement to Detective Sweeney, and now said that that statement was not correct. He had said in the statement that he had: "seen Evans and Jones standing in the doorway." He had previously said, and now said again, that he had never seen Evans in the doorway, and had not seen any other man just then. He had found out at the Police Station the night previous that his statement was untrue. In

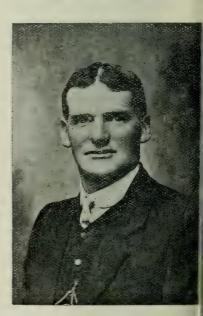




G. R. CROWLEY,
-President Inangahua Miners' Union.



W. M'LENNAN, Vice-President Waihi Miners' Union.



M. FAGAN, Federation of Labor Executive Member, and Secretary Inangahua Miners' Union.

his statement he had said he saw Evans fire the shot, and he had found out at the Police Station that this was untrue, and that Barfoot's name should be there. His brother had sworn that he (Albert) had broken the catch on the door. He had never seen his brother there. His brother had sworn that Evans fired the shot which he (witness) now declared was fired by Barfoot. He also said in his statement to the detective that two men opened the door. In his evidence that day he had said he only saw one hand opening the door, and he stood to the latter statement.

Henry Bostock said, when the door was opened, he saw three men behind the door, all with revolvers. One of these was Barfoot. He had given evidence twice before in these cases, and had never once mentioned that Barfoot was at the door. He had previously sworn that he saw only one revolver. In his previous evidence he had said it was Doyle who held the revolver. In his statement to the detective he had said that Harvey hit the door with his baton and it opened. He had also said in his evidence that this was not true. He had also said that "'prior to going through the swinging-door, which was closed, he had heard another shot." He had also sworn that he never went through the swinging-door. He had said in his statement: "After going to the back door he retreated to the office to search there, but found the doors locked." He now said that was untrue-he never went to the back door. A policeman broke the door of the office open, and he went through that way to the hall and out to the back. Didn't know who the policeman was, but Commissioner Cullen authorised the breaking of the door. The bursting open of the door was done under Mr. 'Cullen's instructions before the shooting in the paddock. Later on, the witness declared that the statement that the office door was burst open before the shot was fired in the paddock was untrue. He said he "had heard no shot fired in the paddock." Previously, this extraordinary witness had deposed: "He had said in his statement that he heard only two shots fired in the hall, but he had heard one fired outside."

Thomas Henry Johnston said he didn't see either of the Ritchies at the door when the hall was rushed. He had never worked as a miner previous to coming to Waihi. He had carried a baton during the strike. In spite of the fact that every other witness had sworn that Southey was the man who was outside with Ritchie, he persisted that it was Barfoot who was there. He said the expression "scab" had been used by some of the strikers who were outside the door after Richards was grabbed. Mr. Lundon pointed out that all the other evidence on the side of the prosecution was that, with the exception of Southey and Richards, everybody, including Barfoot, was inside before any expression was used. Johnston further said that at no time did he see either of the Ritchies or Harvey or Delaney at the door. If Albert Ritchie had said he (Ritchie) shut the door he would not be speaking the truth. Confronted with Harvey's evidence, in which that witness had said he (Harvey) had stepped up to the door, which was shut in his face, and that when he knocked on the door it was opened, and the shot was fired by Doyle, striking Johnston, witness entered upon a lengthy and voluble attempt to "explain" the differences in his and Harvey's evidence, until pulled up by the Magistrate.

Johnston had given a statement to the detectives, in which he alleged that Harvey had said, after the word "scab" was used: "Get off this footpath." He could not reconcile this with what he had just sworn, to the effect that he had not seen Harvey. Mr. Lundon quoted Delaney's evidence to the effect that he had seen Evans fire the first shot. Witness repeated that he had not seen Delaney there.

Albert Ritchie repeated his assertion that Doyle fired two shots, but could not say whether Barfoot fired or whether he was armed at all. He was in the procession on November 12, but didn't see his brother at the Miners' Hall. Immediately after the hall door was pushed open, Evans fired the first shot. "Barfoot was on the right-hand side, slightly behind Doyle." [Mr. Lundon read from the depositions in the previous case the witness's sworn evidence that he had not seen Barfoot at that time.]

James A. Delaney said he was present at the hall on November 12 when the scuffle took place there. He didn't see either of the Ritchies or Harvey there. When the door opened he saw Evans standing inside the door with a revolver in his hand. Evans was right up to the door, and would block the door. He saw absolutely no one else. A shot was fired, and he saw Evans with the revolver, but did not see Evans fire. He had said in his previous evidence at the inquest that he "distinctly saw Evans fire that shot." He didn't see Barfoot at all.

Harvey, when sworn, said his name was Walter Edmund Harvey. He had never been known under any other name, and had never used any other name. He was the first to the door after the shot was fired. He denied that he had knocked on the door with a baton. He had lost his baton on November 11, he said, and had not had one since.

The instances given above are only a fraction of what might be-printed.

#### CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE.

# THE SECOND SCAB UNION AND BOGUS UNIONISM GENERALLY.

Strike down Liberty, no matter by what subtle and infernal art the deed is done, the spinal cord of Humanity is sundered, and the world is paralyzed by the indescribable crime."—DEBS.



E have in a previous chapter proved unassailably that the designation of "scab" rightly fitted the so-called Ohinemuri Engine-drivers' "Union," and will now prove as unassailably that its scabbery had as its inevitable consequence the promotion of further scabbery. Encouraged by the secession of the engine-drivers, a number of non-unionists (who had foolishly been permitted to remain such by the genuine union) and some un-

deniable renegades who had firstly accepted strike pay and next "ratted," brought into existence a second "Arbitration Union" called the Ohinemuri Mines and Batteries Employees' Union. When the mining magnates reopened the mines early in October this Union, in order to make pretence of being legitimately a union, issued a manifesto to cloak its own scabbing and to solicit further aid for the bosses. It read as follows:—

We, as members of the recently-formed Ohinemuri Mines and Batteries Employees' Union, desire to make clear our reasons for forming an industrial union under the arbitration laws of New Zealand. We belong to that section which were not satisfied with the ballot taken by the Waihi Union upon the question of the cancellation of its registration under the Arbitration Act. The deadlock which has since occurred and which has lasted for nearly five months can only be terminated by the action we have taken. We decline to be a charge upon the generosity of our fellow-workers when there is profitable employment awaiting us and a judicial tribunal in the case of dispute is offered to us. We bear no animosity towards those who think that we are wrong in taking this, the only line of action possible to bring about re-employment. We ask that those who are willing to return to their work shall recognise that all sections have rights and liberties. We invite you to join us in sharing the management of union affairs, leaving the final settlement of disputes to the law of the land in which we live.

Made "clear" in this "injured-innocence" sort of production is that the decision of a ballot participated in by the "rats" and overwhelmingly carried by the membership of the registration-cancelling Union was betrayed, and also that scabbery was now stalking through Waihi naked and unashamed. Henceforth the scab Engine-drivers' Union took a back seat, and its creation assumed command. After the events of Black Week the newer Union felt compelled to make a rejoinder to the serious charges made, and a document entitled "The Truth about Waihi" was extensively circulated. In this document the strike was dubbed "farce" and "burlesque," the Federation of Labor was accused of being "neurotic" and "hysterical" and of "fighting political and religious rights," "loyalty" was paraded, "Christianity" patronised, the presence of police defended, strikers who went to jail scorned as "law-breakers," the admission made that Arbitrationists carried "arms for protection," and the charge made that gelignite was thrown at Arbitrationists. The document was signed "M. B. Rudd, President; H. Gray, Vice-president; H. N. Pulham, Secretary," and also said of the happenings on November 12:—

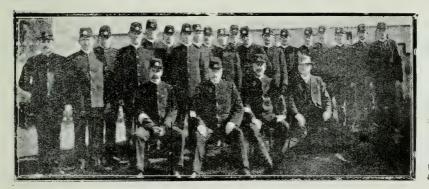
The police strove mightily to restrain the infuriated workers, but were only partially successful. The strikers were hunted in all directions, and, man to man, had to account for many a long score of bullying women, children, and isolated men. The mine whistles blew in vain; mass meetings were held; the Red Flag (cause of all the hatred, the malice, ruin, and bloodshed) was publicly burnt in the street, and a list of about 30 of the chief persecutors was drawn up. The list was read publicly, and within 48 hours not a man on the list was left in the town. The defeat was sudden, dramatic, and complete. The tyranny of months was concluded in a few hours. The national flag was flown, and women hidden for months behind their closed doors came forth in the streets without fear of molestation.

It is also chronicled that "the infuriated men rushed the hall," but "established a record for their true Christianity in showing patience in suffering and mercy in victory." Further, "the Arbitration supporters upheld their victory with dignity and decorum . . . not one single act of retribution by the Arbitrationists has been recorded." This is all very interesting after the admissions previously made as per excerpt above.

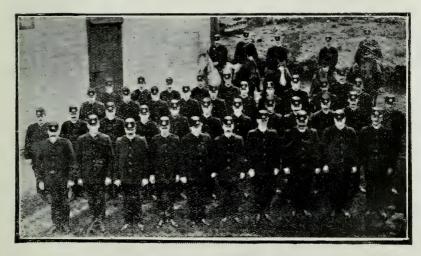
We do not intend to deal at any length with the manifesto of the Waihi self-styled loyal and Christian "Arbitrationists." We publish some extracts so that our readers, here and abroad, may get right close to the "make-up" of the Federation's foes. For those who like the sort of thing it is just the sort of thing they will like. "Loyalty" so ostentatious and "true Christianity" so snivelling have ever been the refuge of renegades and reactionaries within the ranks of Labor. We should say that the very attitude displayed to the police, to workers' imprisonment, to the unionist shot ("would-be assassin"), to his ill, shocked, lacerated, bereft widow tending her two little ones ("whose wife stayed at home"), to the Red Flag, to "feather-brained" Parry, and to thestrike generally would carry the condemnation of the manifesto and its. issuers. Nevertheless, it is delightful to read that the police "strove mightily," but without success, "to restrain the infuriated" Christians. from "showing patience in suffering and mercy in victory." Also, to find out who carried the firearms. As for the gelignite, our readers



DAY DUTY POLICE AT WAIKINO.



DAY DUTY POLICE AT WAIHI.



A FURTHER CONTINGENT OF POLICE AT WAIHI.



SCABS BEING ESCORTED TO WORK.



SCAB PROTECTORS.



"ARBITRATION" DRIVERS ON WAY TO COURTHOUSE.

the substitute of

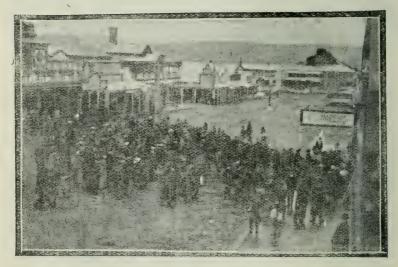
know that there was "mobbing" when it was thrown, and they know that it was part of the "mobbing," and that self-confessedly the Arbitrationists were the mobbers. Indeed, shorn of its lies, the manifesto is unexpected corroboration of the charges made by the Federation. The answer to the manifesto as far as the Federation is concerned in that the Federation has staked its all on the findings of an inquiry, and is everywhere vigorously demanding an inquiry, although the "Arbitrationists'" Mayor of Waihi thinks it unnecessary, and patted Attorney-General Herdman on the back for also thinking so. For the rest, be our Arbitrationists never so pure and undefiled, it remains established that gentlemen who go to work in strikers' places during a strike are scabs, blacklegs, strike-breakers. Nothing can get over this elementary fact. And our gentlemen of Waihi are scabs, who hadn't even the excuse of economic pressure, but were bluffed or bribed, flattered or purchased into scabbery as detestable as anywhere in the whole wide world. As for the gentlemen who took strike pay ere they succumbed to a higher price, our readers, here and abroad, may, as they choose, admit the truth and the justification of all these gentlemen say-but even then, nothing can explain away their readiness to be recipients of the strike pay they tried subsequently to deride as "charity," and next seeking employment as scabs. At what wages will never be known.

It gives point to all we have said that when after Black Week the Batteries and Mines Union sent speakers abroad to defend its conduct it was the Chambers of Commerce that promoted meetings for the speakers, while unionists so displayed their hostility that the meetings quickly ceased.

Adverting to the first of the scab unions, it ought to be placed on record that when the Waihi Workers' Union, of which it was once a part, was clamoring for better conditions for all members and the employers objected to certain demands for the betterment of the engine-drivers, the miners stood ready to strike in their behalf. Amongst the numerous misrepresentations to which the strikers were subjected, we read in the "Dominion" that "the agents of the strike have gone one better than seeking to force men into a union; they are seeking to force unionists to abandon their own union and join another." Quite the reverse was the fact. It was the other fellows' agents who were seeking to force members of the existent union to abandon their own union and form an abortion. When the strike took place, for the purpose of damaging the Waihi strikers it was alleged that the trouble was "an internal quarrel of employees," and therefore not directed to the mine-owners. In all that was afterwards made of this cry it was conveniently forgotten that during the last week of June a delegation from the Federation of Labor had waited upon the engine-drivers, when Mr. Semple appealed to them as reasonable men to consider the advisability of returning to the Miners' Union for the sake of industrial peace. The reply was that the new Union would not be broken up. But as to the cry, it was not an internal quarrel in the bona fide sense, and was only internecine to the degree that all quarrels between traitors and stalwarts, between unionists and scabs are internecine.



POLICE AND SCABS RUSHING MINERS' HALL.



SCABS AND OTHERS WHO ATTEMPTED TO RAID THE MINERS' HALL.

Statements to the contrary notwithstanding, the miners of Waihi and Reefton were fighting the good fight of unionism and for the working-class. They were enduring hardship for principle. Practically all the miners of New Zealand were supporting their fellow-miners in trouble. It was grand. If, say, the bootmakers or carpenters were on strike, and 95 to 98 per cent. of either trade concerned upheld the strike it would be accepted as strong evidence that the strike was necessary. This percentage applied in respect to the Waihi trouble, both locally and nationally. The miners had not struck for fun. As a matter of fact, action had to be taken at Waihi or the Miners' Union be gravely imperilled and straight unionism dealt a heavy blow. Unionism has never yet been able to tolerate the establishment of a scab union without itself becoming the servant of the scab union, and thereby a menace to the organised working-class. Wherever a bosses' union has been able to rear its ugly head it has disastrously operated towards the degradation and demoralisation of a workers' union. Stripped of all confusion, the fight at Waihi was the fight for the right of an organisation to safeguard its solidity and objects by preventing an infinitesimal section from breaking away to the detriment of the whole, particularly when the section had no special grievance as a section, and was playing the game of the bosses. Before the days of Arbitration such trickery and folly proved troublesome in union ranks. The only distinction between then and later was that where formerly capitalism had many weapons-for capitalism has ever rallied to its pets-it now had one extra weapon in the shape of Arbitration law. The crux of the fight was the right of 95 to 98 per cent. to control organisation and to assert the principle of one union for one industry. Three per cent. of the workers wished to wreck 97 per cent. It was sectionalism gone mad. It was a repudiation of democracy. It was peril and betrayal.

As to the menace of bogus unions, many will remember how that the M.S.U.—the bogus Machine Shearers' Union—was able for years to hinder and injure the magnificent A.W.U. (Australian Workers' Union). Others will recollect how that in Broken Hill another union of the same brand—the Non-Political Union—set itself up against A.M.A. (Amalgamated Miners' Association), and in the critical hour of negotiations with the mine managers was so treacherous an element that it needed drastic action by the miners to wipe out the N.P.U., or the miners would themselves have been wiped out. And there is now operating in Australia even a more formidable peril and traitor than either of them. We refer to the Free Laborers' Union, led by the notorious Packer, which union with bosses' bribes is ravaging legitimate unionism near and far. Again, there is in Brisbane a bogus union of tramwaymen actually assisting the bosses to oppose Justice Higgins' award. Permit the "bogus" or boss's union to get a footing in New Zealand, and perhaps farewell to our manhood, our standard and our attainments. The Waihi strike was a campaign against bogus unionism.

Unionism and its protection and preservation, the relationship of sectional unionism and industrial unionism, and the toleration or otherwise of factional and fractional splits, must be fully debated in this

country, and merit a little attention here. Let it be remembered that the organised workers of Waihi had declared for affiliation to a Federation whose very centre is Industrial Unionism, and that Industrial Unionism means organisation upon the lines of industry rather than per craft. The workers had superseded the craft form of organisation by making the members of each craft members of one organisation, in which craft divisions and dissensions gave way to class considerations and an injury to one became the concern of all. If Industrial Unionism is to be the plan of working-class action, then sectional unionism has got to go-got to go because it is helpless against trustified employerdom and most helpless in that it not only implies but encourages and makes inevitable what is called organised scabbery. In the class struggle the scab doctrine has developed to the extent of including the organisation as well as the individual. It had to thus develop in consonance with industrial development, which evolutionary concept is the central case for Industrial Unionism. The coming of the combines and the trusts, together with changing technical conditions and the all-conquering march of the machine, impelled the formation of industrial unions by compelling the ideas associated with capitalistic development. Barriers between trades had to disappear; the linking-up of trades had to come. with the linking-up there logically arrived different concepts-revolutionary or class-conscious unionism was born. Incontestably, therefore, form of organisation matters. As, Dr. Louis Levine, Ph.D., author of "The French Labor Movement," puts it: "A form of organisation presupposes definite technical conditions, rests upon certain general ideas, and leads to determinate collective action." At one time it was thought that if the spirit was right the form did not matter; now it is seen that the spirit cannot be reliably present without the form.

For everybody to see, sectionalism, with its agreements expiring at different dates, forbids united industrial action-and if we are to have united action, then we must have the form of organisation which permits of united action. This being so, how could there be united action at Waihi if a section of the workers was allowed to become Arbitrationist, while the remaining workers favored other methods? it applies all round. It follows that the Waihi strike was a strike for united action, for Industrial Unionism, for real working-class organisation, for a Labor movement in accord with modern requirements and historical evolution. As to the factions and fractions of unionism, do not for one moment think that they are peculiar to the Federation of They are not: they constitute a world problem. troubles to the one at Waihi have arisen over and over again and for much less worthy an object than a battle for Industrial Unionism. Trades Union records are full of them. To make these remarks understood, keep in view that although the Federation stands for Industrial Unionism, that Industrial Unionism has to be achieved ere lasting class results and economic control are possible. All the unions, or nearly all, have to be merged into One Big Union before the One Big Union can be tried and prove victorious. The real fight in this country is the fight to crush the Federation of Labor before it has strengthened to the point of emancipatory effort. The fight is on.

#### CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR.

# DAY OFF DEMONSTRATIONS. — VICTIMISATION AT HUNTLY.

And we—shall we, too, crouch and quail, Ashamed, afraid of strife, And, lest our lives untimely fail, Embrace the Death in Life? Nay, cry aloud and have no fear; We few against the world; Awake, arise; the hope we bear Against the curse is hurled!



T a meeting in September, 1912, in Wellington, the Executive of the Federation of Labor decided that each affiliated Union be requested to take a "day off" and hold demonstrations against the jailing of Waihi strikers. Many thousands of unionists were passionate with indignation over these outrageous jailings of men speeded to prison in fear they might do something to arrest infamous scabbery in its traitorous campaign

for fattened and avaricious gold-owners. Our information was that the design at Waihi was to gag 300 men, and that the move being unexpectedly frustrated by the fine pluck of the first men "bound over" a hundred summonses in preparation were at once smothered. Men innocent of crime, guilty alone of daring to stand up for themselves, their near and dear ones, and their principles, pre-judged and in virtual solitary confinement in convict dress and on pauper diet-unionists thus scandalously maltreated were lying in jail expecting those workers outside—all powerful if they would but act—to do their duty and free their comrades and champions. At first pretending to laugh to scorn the feebleness of the "day off" policy, the tune of the deriders soon changed when it appeared that business was really meant. parations began to be made in Federation centres for a day's holiday in order to bring home to the authorities the strength of the demand for the release of the strikers in jail, the papers started to howl, and soon columns were filling with vituperation, abuse and "news." This in itself was a vindication of the idea behind the policy. In certain districts a boycott by the press of meetings was resorted to. Even though the White Feather fluttered over every Trades Hall, should not the militant working people themselves defiantly proclaim that Parry, McLennan, Melrose and their spirited colleagues must be set free or a libertyloving democracy know the reason why? The idea was to let the Government and its predatory manipulators see that unionism had not lost its punch. And while many unions remained passive, yet the demonstrations held strikingly attested the birth of a militant unionism potential in power and dominion.



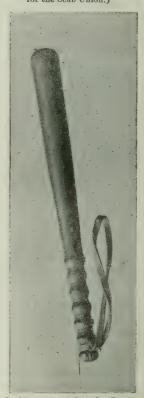
MAGISTRATE BURGESS.



REV. P. J. CLEARY, C.E. (Who consistently supported and spoke for the Scab Union.)



Memoriam Card, hanging in Reading Room of Miners' Hall, and showing mark of bullet fired from outside.



A ScabBaton turned at the Company's Works at Waikino.

The first day-off demonstration was organised by the unionists in the Grey District on October 5, 1912, when miners and other toilers from Greymouth, Runanga, Blackball, State Collieries, Brunner and their environs assembled at Greymouth. The demonstration surpassed anything of the kind ever held in the district, and was a record in attendance and enthusiasm. And not a line about it appeared in the daily papers!

At Auckland on October 10 the watersiders, many general laborers, and other workers ceased work and brought off a most effective procession to the Mount Eden Jail and cheered the prisoners. Afternoon and evening mass meetings were held. The miners of Huntly observed this day also, when, despite the efforts of the mine directorate to block the holiday, all but five men ceased work and held big meet-

ings.

On October 12, at Lyttelton, the watersiders made holiday with a big procession, and subsequently joined the general laborers and others at Christchurch, at which city another successful procession and meeting were held.

On the same day at Westport the Buller district demonstration was attended by contingents of miners from Denniston, Millerton, Stockton, Seddonville; the miners joined the watersiders and general laborers, and the resultant gathering will long be remembered. Nothing approaching it in size and enthusiasm had ever been held in Westport.

Again, on the same day, the miners of Nightcaps held a demonstration, when every union member took a day off, the stores were closed, and great enthusiasm prevailed. The Kiripaka and Whangarei miners joined and mustered in full force at Hikurangi. The Timaru watersiders likewise held a successful meeting.

All work was suspended at Bealey on October 11 and Otira on October 12, the latter meeting being held in the open air in pouring rain.

The flaxmillers, which body had many times been gazetted as likely to secede from the Federation, took a day off, and at Palmerston North on October 22, brought off a splendid demonstration.

This concludes the list of actual demonstrations to hold which work was stopped. But many other mass meetings of protest were held, a huge one taking place in Wellington on Saturday afternoon, October 19, which the watersiders promoted, and at which 5000 people bared their heads in sympathy with the sufferers by the Mount Lyell disaster. A big day had been made of Sunday, October 6, in the same city, when afternoon and evening meetings were record ones. Indeed, mass meetings were prominent in numerous places, while scores of unions carried resolutions condemnatory of the imprisonments. The demonstrations and meetings were not only addressed by local lights, but in as many cases as possible by officers and committeemen of the Federation and by delegates from Waihi. Typical of the resolutions carried were the following:—

That this mass meeting of the workers and citizens of the Grey district emphatically protests against the manner

in which the Massey Government has placed the police force at the command of the Waihi mine-owners and the Government's class administration of the law in an effort to force the miners back to work under brutal conditions; that this meeting further demands the immediate release of the unionists of Waihi who have been so outrageously thrown into prison for crimes that were never committed.

That this meeting of Wellington citizens views with alarm the outrageous victimisation and attack upon unionism shown in the coercive locking-out of workers at Huntly, Kiripaka and Auckland; also expresses its abhorrence of the Government for permitting the wholesale jailing of strikers for carrying out traditional and accepted working-class tactics against blacklegs; and pledges itself to tirelessly agitate for the release of the Union prisoners and the Industrial Unionism which will render victimisation im-

The agitation for the release of the Union prisoners was in full swing when terminated under the needs elsewhere recorded. A consequence of it, or rather of the "day off," was vindictive retaliation on the part of some employers. At Auckland the Mayor nearly went mad at the cheek of it! General laborers were sacked because of their "presumption" in thinking they could own themselves for one day. local authorities body held the whip over employees' heads, but still some stopped away-and were discharged. A strike resulted, the laborers only feebly responding, and the victimised men had finally to seek work elsewhere, while the strike collapsed. At Kiripaka the miners were locked-out and at date have not been re-employed there. Although the Huntly miners had been warned by their bosses-the Taupiri Coal Co., which thinks even in "advanced" and "democratic" New Zealand that it has the right (the sacred right) to have workers leashed to it body and soul-although so warned, the miners stuck to their guns, and took a day off. Cheers and more cheers to them! And next day they were refused work-600 of them-and kept from work the rest of the week. But no paper or politician or mayor said a word about the tyranny of it. You see, it was a dreadful crime for the men to take eight hours from toil, but it was quite the most natural and correct thing for the masters to keep the men from toil for days! Next the directors presented a statement to the Waikato Miners' Union expressing their strong disapproval of the day's holiday, and announcing the dismissal of the miners' executive. The mine manager handed notices of dismissal to members of the executive, the names of the victimised being: T. H. Marshall (president), J. E. Duncan (secretary), J. Fulton, C. Allen, C. Watson, W. George, R. Brundy, W. Bullough and F. Knapper. The executive immediately called a mass meeting. Each of the dismissed officers in addressing the meeting urged the men to resume work and await the Federation's decision in the matter. The president said the position was a most serious one, but it was the wish of the executive that the men should go back to work. However, the men, to their credit, declined to agree to the recommendation, and showed themselves courageous and true men of the militant workingclass when they refused to sacrifice their executive. A clearer case of

bosses' intimidation and victimisation could hardly be unearthed in the deathless march of unionism. Of course, the miners and not the calculating mine-owners were saddled with the responsibility, but all the palayer in the world cannot get over the little simple fact that nine men were singled out by the mine directorate for "sacking" because the nine were a union executive. Words fail in condemnation of the bullying "coward's castle" procedure. And the aftermath-planned from the beginning-was the creation of another bosses' union, an Arbitration union, a bogus union, a scab union! Members of the United Labor Party were to the fore in its formation. Fighting gamely, and not relishing the resumption, upon the advice of the Federation Executive the miners of Huntly eventually returned to work on October 29, 1912. With the Waihi and Reefton fights on, with Auckland General Laborers routed, with Karangahake (Talisman mine) then closed down, with Kiripaka and Huntly locked-out, it was felt that a thousand more men on the funds of the Federation could not be supported, especially with unionism as a whole heedless of the cause and supine as mules.

It is worth noting that in the House of Representatives on October 15, Mr. G. W. Russell (Avon) had asked the Prime Minister whether the Government proposed to take any action or consult the Crown Law Officers with regard to the dismissal of the executive of the Waikato Miners' Union by the Taupiri Coal Company. He read two paragraphs from a manifesto issued by the company, and said this was perhaps one of the most important acts ever taken in connection with the Labor question in New Zealand. The Prime Minister had replied that he had not been communicated with nor consulted by the directors of the Taupiri Company in regard to what had taken place. He had no objection to referring the matter to the Crown Law Officers.

As customary throughout 1912 nothing came of Parliamentary intervention in the Labor troubles, unless it may be recorded to the discredit of the Government that it sent 80 or 90 police to Huntly and is said to have held a military contingent also in readiness for Huntly.

Well, well, the Huntly men resumed work and the executive (who ought to be long honored) were sacked and another scab union registered-making a quartette of them. Subsequent events would make an interesting book. Than the Huntly case we do not recall a clearer or more glaring and impertinent case of victimisation in this country's history. Victimisation is always with us, we know, but the rascally victimisers seldom act with the effrontery of the Taupiri Coal Co. directorate, and bullyingly and without conscience or cunning show the iron hand so aggressively and without any compunction or consideration. Eloquent of how the directorate despised and estimated New Zealand unionism was their act of deliberately advertising to the world that the union executive at Huntly had to be sacrificed by the men or they could not longer be employed. We repeat that act so barefaced. arrogant and contemptuous has hardly been known, and never committed without protest and action where a country's unionism had spunk and manhood.

Of the unionism in this Dominion that within the Federation of Labor is numerically outclassed by about five to one, while over the boundary line of all unionism is a working-class host several-fold the strength of the allegedly organised. Experience shows the uselessness of Disorganisation, and so unionism-as Organisation-has generally operated for the advantage of the whole class, despite the larger numbers outside the ranks. When, however, we get a unionism such as is in New Zealand, with the vast bulk of it merely made unionist by State machinery, and using that machinery for selfish and sectional interests alone, reckless of the cause and the class, why then we are faced with a situation to make the real unionist grieve and to create sad lamentations at the plight and the peril. The terribly urgent chief lesson of 1912 developments is the hopelessness of effective, efficient, and successful unionism in New Zealand with the working-class so fatuously divided, spiritless, misinformed and unmanly. The wage-slaves of Capitalism to begin with, next the sapped servants of insidious and invidious Arbitration, and then the sport and plaything of pimps, renegades and strike-breakers-what in God's name is to be done with a unionism so bereft of class-consciousness and so lost to all sense of independence and solidarity as not to understand its stupidity, ignorance and treachery?

### CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE.

# FINGER PRINTS OF CONSPIRACY.

Perish the power which has been obtained by evil means, retained by evil means, and administered by evil means.—CICEBO.



THE WORKER "Special," Herb. Kennedy declared:
"The events of Saturday, Monday and Tuesday.
(November 9, 11, and 12) were undoubtedly systematically planned with Government sanction and carried out under police supervision."

This has been indignantly denied over and over again by the Government, the police, the mine-owners, and the toughs. Still the reports printed in the capi-

talist papers, and especially those appearing in the "Auckland Star" (whose Waihi correspondent was then Coroner Wallnutt), furnish columns of incriminating evidence of the remarkable conspiracy that brought the forces of the law into deliberate line with the law-breakers. The "Star" reported on November 11:

What might be termed the militant section of the workers formed together, and practically took charge of Main street. Other persons were now made to feel their position. The workers, however, proved quite amenable to advice and control.

Which makes it quite clear that the "militant section of the workers"—meaning the hired toughs—were operating under police control and making the unionists "feel their position." The next par. contains a naked admission that the affair of November 9 in Waihi was an organised "police drive":

What a complete turning of the tables there was, as compared with the condition of the town on the previous Saturday before the historic police "drive."

In the same paper of the same date it was recorded that the toughs [the "workers," the "Star" called them] marched backward and forward, in front of the Union Hall, singing a parody on the "Red Flag," in which they intimated that the Socialists were to be driven out:

The Socialists we cannot stand; We'll drive them out of Maoriland.

The November 11 issue described how a local business man was attacked by Harvey, and also contained an account of the attempt to raid the hall on November 9:

It appears that just before the picture shows opened a band of workers, led by a few aggressive spirits, decided to storm the Union Hall, but the plot was overheard by Mr. Cullen, who prevailed upon them to go to the pictures instead.

One of those "aggressive spirits" was Walter Harvey, alias Ormerod. In a supplementary report it was stated:—

The workers rushed the Miners' Union Hall, and had it not been for the intervention of Commissioner Cullen, who, as usual, was in the thick of the fight, they would have certainly entered the building, and probably in their rage, wrecked things considerably.

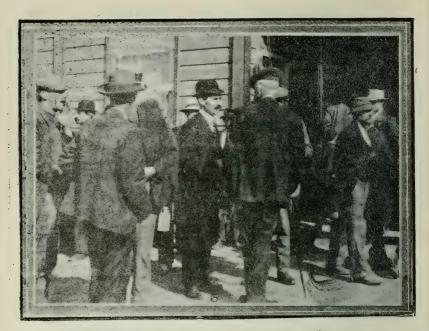
And yet no action whatever was taken by Commissioner Cullen or the authorities against the persons guilty of that violence.

The "Star" of November 11 made the following significant if somewhat ungrammatical announcement — on the authority of the police, no doubt:

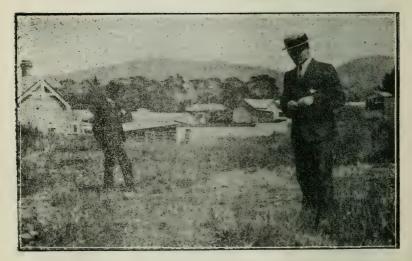
It is now understood that the police intend to break up the picketing, especially those who adopt the horseback style.

Early in the afternoon of the same day Commissioner Cullen requested the withdrawal of the pickets. When they were withdrawn, the toughs made their police-assisted onslaught. Then the "Star" made a further announcement—no doubt also on police authority:

It is understood that the Arbitrationists will now fully assert their rights and organise, with a view to meeting whatever annoyance may be offered them in the way of picketing, house rallies, or booing and "scabbing."



COMMISSIONER CULLEN AND T. WALSH IN FRONT OF MINERS' HALL AFTER THE RAID.



CORONER WALLNUTT AND CROWN PROSECUTOR MAYS VIEWING THE SPOT WHERE EVANS WAS MURDERED.

The police distinctly encouraged the toughs in their subversion of the law. Having publicly proclaimed their determination to stop picketing (which is quite legal) by the unionists, the police countenanced picketing by the toughs, assisted them to hold up and search and drive back every respectable citizen known or suspected to sympathise with the unionists.

The "Star" of November 12 published an account of a meeting at which the chief scab, in the presence of the police and without any action whatever on their part, flourished the keys stolen from the Miners' Union Hall, while he declared that the raid on the hall had been legally made.

The attempted suppression of evidence by the Crown re the killing of Evans, the attitude of the Crown in the Police Court cases, the attempt of the Crown to shield Harvey, the entertaining of Harvey by a prominent detective at Auckland, and a hundred and one other things go to prove the conspiracy.

The hired tough, Harvey, when he learned that the mine-owners who had used him were about to fling him aside, said: "By G-d, I'll make New Zealand ring! I'll let them know whether there was any pre-arrangement about taking the hall."

Almost hysterical attempts have been made, both through the capitalist press and in the Police Court at Waihi, and also before Coroner Wallnutt at the inquest, to discredit the unionists' version of the raids and riots. The following excerpts are taken from reports supplied to the "Auckland Star" by either Coroner Wallnutt or his substitute:

It was only the work of a moment when enraged "workers" burst the door open, carrying everything before them in a mad rush. The police by this time were amongst them. Meanwhile pandemonium reigned supreme. "Workthem. Meanwhile pandemonium reigned supreme. "Workers" swarmed all over the hall and raced through the back, chasing the fleeing strikers. Others poured round the back in hundreds. The first man caught was a picket, who, it was alleged, had fired a revolver at the door. He was immediately mobbed, and was nearly in a state of insensibility when rescued by the police and searched. He was bleeding profusely from a wound on the face, and seemed badly hurt. He was with difficulty taken away by the police and attended to. The "workers" by this time were away ming all over adjacent sections, and another picket swarming all over adjacent sections, and another picket was accounted for. He was also roughly handled, and rescued with difficulty. All over the town rushed bands of "workers," answering to the cry of "Here's one," like hounds on the run. On all sides it was said that just retribution was claiming its own, and little mercy was shown when any well-known offender was run to earth. . . . A hostile crowd gathered outside the Fire Brigade station, some of its members being well-known Federationists

The police were here, there and everywhere, keeping in touch with the hunting bands of Arbitrationists.

The last sentence surely bears out our charge that the police were "working in" with the thugs!

The Federation's allegations as to the "driving-out" campaign are further substantiated:

An authentic report from Waikino shows that Arbitrationists there have cleared the township, compelling Federationists to get out. Prominent Federationists here have left after receiving a warning.

Concerning the attack on Mr. Kennedy, the same correspondent avers:

On arrival at the station the mob rushed him, delivering several blows on his face.

As if to further substantiate the charge that the police took part in the rioting, the "Star" correspondent reports:

Mounted constables and foot police were busily engaged following up.

The mine officials were undoubtedly aware that the riot was to take place. The "Star" places it on record that:

During the raid numbers of residents and mine officials occupied points of vantage on the tip-heads and hills.

The "Star" correspondent further declares, inter alia:-

In the meantime the army of workers were rushing all over the main street, and every striker who was overtaken received severe punishment. . . . One "worker" shot the whole of the contents of a billycan of tea right into the face of one of the jeering women. Several pickets were located in ti-tree, and received immediate punishment.

Note that wherever the law-breaking scabs and foughs are referred to by the "Star" they are called the "workers."

In spite of Commissioner Cullen's assurance that everything was quiet at Waihi, the paper continued to print reports of acts of violence and evidence of the lawlessness that had control at Waihi. On November 16, the "Star" reported:

Last evening three strangers who came into town and were suspected of hailing from Huntly were closely questioned, but their answers were not considered satisfactory. The visitors demanded police protection, and were at once escorted to the police station, where their account of themselves was not at all explicit or as complete as it might have been, and they were subsequently escorted out beyond the borough boundaries on the way to Karangahake.

After Doyle had been taken to the lock-up, although he had never fired a shot, and had only presented the revolver to frighten off his would-be murderers, police officers visited him in the cell and threatened him that he would be hanged.

Strikers who fled to Karangahake were promptly ordered out of that place by the local police.

The day after the raid at Waihi, Minister for Justice Herdman told a press representative at Auckland: "Every day I have been in close communication with Waihi," which meant, if it meant anything, that the Government had been in close communication with the mineowners and the business element. "Very little has been said by us,"

Mr. Herdman added, "about our plans and movements, because to ensure success it was necessary that everything should be done without fuss and without publicity."

The Press Association telegrams, published in the capitalist papers, reported that a bootmaker was assaulted, knocked down and kicked by the hired toughs, and it was recorded that the police got round the injured man, "and while he was on the ground they searched him."

Walter Harvey, alias Ormerod, was one of the speakers at a scab meeting, and to the approving howls of the toughs, parsons, business persons, and police, who were present, expressed a wish that he might get the opportunity to use personal violence towards the Organiser of the Federation of Labor.

On October 2 the mines were re-opened—it is said on the advice of Commissioner Cullen. The immediate response to the call for scabs was not encouraging, but the scab agencies were at work among the flotsam and jetsam of the cities, whence the toughs and bruisers were recruited, and also among the pahs in the Thames Valley.

A MAGRILAND WORKER correspondent subsequently reported that on November 6 and 7 the associated mine-owners met in conference at Waihi, when it was understood that Commissioner Cullen was present. At that conference a change of tactics to be employed by the scabs was undoubtedly agreed upon.

In a letter, dated November 14, the writer said: "The police searched our houses and yards, and have taken everything, so we are defenceless and at the mercy of the scabs if we venture out."

A fugitive Unionist told THE WORKER: "On Thursday, November 14, my wife was down Seddon street, and she saw men with bars of iron breaking into the Union Store. Two policemen were at the corner laughing. Among the men at work with bars were Messrs. Walsh and Rudd. Failing to lift the crossbar which held the door within, they were joined by Sergeant Wohlmann, and all then left."

On November 21, when it was anticipated that a number of Federationists were returning to Waihi, a large number of scabs, some of whom were mounted, and a contingent of foot and mounted police put in an appearance at the railway station.

The business people, acting in concert with the police and toughs, refused credit—even to unionists who had been dealing with them for ten years.

On Thursday, December 5, plain-clothes police appeared in the Coroner's Court at Waihi wearing the red, white and blue badge of the scab union.

At the inquest proceedings, December 5, James A. Delaney admitted that on November 12 "he was engaged, with Capper, Dawson and about 30 others, in giving notice to people to get out of Waihi, but he didn't know any of the names of the people to whom he had given notice." Mr. Mays, for the Crown, objected that the notices to quit could have no bearing on the case whatever.

The police took Mrs. Sorensen, Mrs. Cottie and the Misses Hyslop to the Police Station within an hour of the raid on the hall, and took statements from them in writing. These statements—proving how Evans was foully murdered and completely damning so far as both the police and toughs were concerned—the Crown Law Department suppressed, and they were only produced after a strenuous fight on the part of the Federation's counsel, Mr. J. R. Lundon.

When the disturbances of November 9, 11, and 12 took place, to the ranks of the scabs and thugs were added many of the business people.

Coroner Wallnutt (or his substitute) wrote in "Auckland Star" of November 4 re the police attack on November 2:—

The mounted constables formed up, together with a force of foot police, and as one living line they charged right up through the back of the ranks of the strikers, some of the mounted men meanwhile sweeping the main footpath. Mobilisation of police took place with wonderful rapidity. The effect was electrical. Instantly there was a wild stampede. Like a drove of frightened cattle men and women rushed headlong onward. No resistance whatever was shown. Sticks were dropped and prams crashed into each other. The horse-police charged right through the crowd and headed back those in front, turning the entire mob towards the Union Hall. It was a human drive or round-up.

It was also stated in the same issue:-

It is understood that the police authorities have decided in future to adopt similar methods to those of Saturday evening in dealing with such scenes, and will, if necessary, disperse mobs, whether men or women, in the public street or the vicinity of residences of law-abiding citizens.

The Waihi local paper on November 12 printed a leading article advocating lawlessness and physical violence against the Unionists, and strongly urging that they be driven out of Waihi. The Government took no action whatever against the newspaper advocates of disorder.

Is there not here evidence of police complicity?

#### CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX.

# ARBITRATION, THE EMPLOYERS, AND THE WORKERS.

What is said by employers of labour against agitators is unquestionably true. Agitators are a set of interfering, meddling people, who come down to some perfectly contented class of the community and sow the seeds of discontent amongst them. That is the reason why agitators are so absolutely necessary. Without them, in our incomplete state, there would be no advance towards civilisation.—Oscar Wilde.



HE Arbitration law of the land permits of cancellation of registration under the C. and A. Act, and permits conditioned striking. As far as its cancellation and its strike were performed, the Waihi Workers' Union unquestionably acted with full legal sanction and rights. This fact has been consistently blurred. The right of cancellation and the right to strike being guaranteed under the Act, the workers generally have

the more freely acknowledged the Act. But if, as we shall show, the rights are worthless when tested, then the law must be voted a sham and a mockery. That which took place in connection with the scab Ohinemuri Engine-drivers' Union allows of no other deduction. Although the recognised engine-drivers' governing body of the Auckland district (contending that its sphere was being invaded) opposed the legislative recognition of the Ohinemuri Engine-drivers' Union, although the Engine-drivers' Federation refused to recognise the O.E.U., and although the Waihi Workers' Union proved that the engine-drivers were an integral part of it and protested against a separate and small group of secessionists being registered under the Act in defiance of the vast majority of toilers on the field, the Crown Law Office held that the Ohinemuri Engine-drivers could register, and that any fifteen workers could register—and registered acordingly was the O.E.U.

Obviously, if a majority of a union decides in its own interests to remain outside the C. and A. Act, and then an infinitesimal minority can register under the C. and A. Act—with all the power conferred as to getting an award for the whole—and thus force the majority back into registration, majority rule becomes a farce and the so-called cancellation and strike guarantees of the C. and A. Act a dead letter. The glaring injustice of the position is made more evident by the fact that in order to cancel registration there must not only be a majority of voters in its favor, but a majority of union members must vote for cancellation. Reference to the records of a representative Federation of Labor deputation to the Minister of Labor (Hon. G. Laurenson) on June 6 will entirely corroborate the foregoing. We cannot pause to develop the implications of the decision of the Crown Law Office, but unionists will see how, given any case of 15 scabs against 1500 stalwarts, the decision could smash real organisation and terribly imperil unionism.

As in the case of Waihi, Arbitration aided the mine-owners in one set of circumstances, so in another set of circumstances it also aided them at Reefton. The Reefton miners were an Arbitration Union, and when their employers began to impose conditions of work at variance with the legalised agreement, they expected a speedy termination of trouble by the enforcement of the law. Vain hope! By Labor Department. Warden's Court, and kindred agencies their grievance was battledored and shuttlecocked for six long months. The sapient and impartial Law Office, under pressure, early investigated the situation at Reefton. and arrived at the conclusion that although the miners were "out" it was neither strike nor lock-out and consequently the Labor Department could not institute legal proceedings. The legalised agreement had clearly been violated by the mine management, a penalty attached to locking-out men for observing the agreement-yet because there was allegedly "not sufficient evidence to show that the discontinuance of work was due to the orders of the company," a union which was then Arbitrationist to the core had no redress for its Arbitration loyalty, nor had the agreement-breaker to suffer any penalty for its repudiation of the award.

The enthusiastic extent to which the united employers' organisations of New Zealand have become upholders of Arbitration is eloquently attested by their records of the last several years, or since the New Zealand Federation of Labor was established to further the application and advocacy of the principles of Industrial Unionism. The records of employers' negotiations prove their preference for Arbitration as against unionist linking-up per the method of the Federation of Labor. Significant sign! In the desire to crush the Federation the employers refused to treat with it, or its representatives, in the dairyworkers' trouble, the Auckland General Laborers' trouble, the Kaitangata miners' trouble, the Huntly miners' trouble, and in other cases. Each trouble carries with it a most instructive chapter in industrial negotiation, but, shortly, the employers' insistence upon Arbitration gained legal status for union minorities and established in several centres secessionist unions side by side with long-existent unions. The "divide and conquer" tactics were once again successful. Documentary evidence of organised employers' attitude to the Federation is available in wholesale quantities, per presidential speeches, annual reports, and circulars. To give one or two samples of employers' antagonism-here is an excerpt from last year's annual report of the Wellington Employers' Association :-

The period under review has proved a very stressful one, owing to the unsettling of workers and working conditions by irresponsible agitators, who being dependent upon their unions and the contributions of the workers for their livelihood, apparently consider the only means they have of showing justification for their continued employment (in comparative idleness) is to keep alive a ferment and maintain a continuance of industrial unrest. . . . The cancellation of the registration of unions has continued largely as a result of the operations of a small body of malcontents and irresponsibles who are leaders of the New Zealand Federation of Labor.



THIRD GROUP OF WAIHI STRIKERS SENT TO MOUNT EDEN JAIL.



PARRY, MELROSE, AND McLENNAN DISEMBARKING FOR JAIL.



SAFE OF WAIHI MINERS' UNION, SHOWING MUTILATION RECEIVED BY BEING FORCED OPEN BY THE SCABS,

And here is an excerpt containing one of several references to the F.L. which appeared in a "strictly private and confidential" circular sent out in April last by the New Zealand Employers' Association:—

The aggressiveness and combination of large sections of workers enrolled under the Revolutionary Socialistic banner of the New Zealand Federation of Labor have given the Advisory Board anxious thought, with the result that it has been decided to place the issue fairly before affiliated bodies in the hope that prompt and effective steps will be taken to place our organisation in a position to be strong enough to deal with any attacks which may be made upon our members. The position industrially is that, as the Arbitration Court has gone as far as it is possible to go in the way of increasing wages and imposing further restrictions on our trades and industries, organised Labor is looking for other means by which other concessions can be secured.

That immediately preceding excerpt makes known why the employers now want Arbitration—"the Court has gone as far as it is possible to go in the way of increasing wages." Thus the Employers' Federation finds it helpful to issue to all its members a lengthy and explicit document of instructions for Arbitration proceedings. As to the other extract, the terminology applied to the Labor movement is as worn and as admittedly rotten as Noah's Ark. And now, to prove how hollow was the claim that the Waihi strike was merely a fight between the workers themselves, and thus one in which employers had no part, let us note the nature of the ultimatum presented by the Gold-mine Owners' Association to the Federation of Labor at an abortive conference between the parties, held in June, 1912:—

In respect to any agreement that it be a condition precedent to any negotiation for a settlement of any existing differences between the members of the Gold-mine Owners' Association and any of its employees, that any organisation of workers with whom an agreement is proposed shall be the body registered under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act.

This, from the "N.Z. Times" of September 7, 1912, not only endorses the foregoing, but explains the evolution of scab through free laborer to Arbitrationist:—

Mr. H. P. Barry, Superintendent of the Waihi Company, has drawn attention to a misapprehension likely to arise from the prevalent use of the term "free laborers" as applied to men being employed by the company at its property, five miles from Waihi township. It is quite wrong, he says, to suppose that the company is averse to employing unionists. The company would prefer to employ unionists if they could be obtained, but they must be unionists registered under the Arbitration Act. He suggests that the term "Arbitrationists" would indicate more accurately the kind of worker the company wanted. Exception was taken only to members of the Federation of Labor.

The decision re Arbitration of course was in line with the policy of the organised employers, and to make the class nature of the quarrel

at Waihi plain Mr. Barry, Superintendent of the Waihi mine, inadvertently declared "the whole matter is in the hands of the Employers' Association." Mr. D. Goldie, chairman of the Auckland Employers' Association, speaking in defence of Arbitration law, declared that "employers should and would" come to the rescue of those men who act in accordance with the law. Which law-unionist or capitalist? Needless to ask. At Auckland the civic authority was used to try and goad the Federation into a strike through an insidious attack upon unionism, but with something else made the stalking-horse of the occasion. The attack was made to seem a defence of working-class legislative policy. The employing-class posed as upholders of Conciliation and Arbitration, thus ensuared into their net a section of the workers, and, so fortified, were ready to crush the tyrant and rid New Zealand forever of Industrial Unionism! The bosses know how they need a "popular" ery against would-be strikers, and with such a cry are readier for war than on normal occasions, especially if they can time the upheaval and make the going. The news which came from Kaitangata (till then part of the Otago Miners' Union of the F.L.), for instance, of the registration of a reactionary faction as a union, was but one sign of many of the enemy's tactics and designs, as was the pending formation of a scab union at Reefton had the lock-out not been ended.

When towards the end of last year trouble arose at Huntly the mine-owners stepped forward to uphold Arbitration, got another few traitors to form an Arbitration Union, and through this rotten concern forced an agreement down the throats of hundreds of employees given no say in the matter whatever. The scabs issued a manifesto and the genuine unionists one in rebuttal; from the latter read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest this extract:-

The company has taken advantage of the present situation to form, with the aid of some Employers' Association hirelings, a Union under the I.C. and A. Act. This has been the desire of the company directors and managers for "some considerable time," Mr. Alison, the director, having said in the "Herald" during the recent vacation, "that the company would welcome such a Union," and Mr. Fletcher, manager, was on record in one of the district papers as having said "he wished all the men were under Arbitration." When these gentlemen uttered these semi-Arbitration. When these gentlemen uttered these semi-pious wishes their interests were receiving primary consideration; the slaves of the mine have ever had from them only what they have had power enough to take. You workers who have been here any time know that under the much-vaunted Arbitration Act the company has had to be forced to the door of the Court before it would pay the rightful amount of compensation due to men who have been disfigured and maimed while profit-making for the company. The workers in these centralised industries who think the boss loves them for other than the profit he makes had better dispel the idea at once.

It is unchallengeable that the organised employers of New Zealand now stand for Arbitration, use it to rend working-class organisation, and expect Prime Minister Massey to make it compulsory. Arbitration is reaching out to strangle the workers. Law-made unionism has proven of little working-class worth. We have never been of those who repudiate political action, nor will be of those who repudiate industrial action. Of the twain the maddest are the latter, and we fancy they will discover how mad they have been when they are left without a political party because they have betrayed industrial action. Why has scabbery become so threatening in New Zealand? It is because the legislation of the ruling-class—and the United Labor Party must agree that there is a ruling-class which isn't the working-class—it is, we say, because the legislation of the ruling-class has split in twain the working-class. Our record and our shame! Arbitration our undoing, our owner, our ravisher! The Labor movement must get back to first principles. Industrial solidarity is safety, is guidance, is hope. Without it, the foe divides and conquers, ever and always.

Mistakenly, unionists not of the Federation conceived the affair at Waihi to be a question of Arbitration or anti-Arbitration. It was not so primarily, though necessarily (but still secondarily) it was made so by the Arbitration system coming to the rescue of bogus unionism. Until the toilers of New Zealand absolutely smash the Arbitration Act the thing will be forever in the way, tripping them up and betraying them. But if this is the truth generally, it is doubly the truth specifically—for in cases where the incubus of Arbitration has been thrown overboard any rotten faction of the union may re-register under the Act, and literally bind the militant majority within its legal leg-irons!

Whilst the Federation of Labor does not present the strike as alternative to Arbitration, but presents Industrial Unionism as such, it would seem that the strike is an indispensable factor in working-class advancement. Almost every strike is at once a beacon and a milestone—in its fact a stirring reminder that divine discontent and progress-making rebelliousness still live and breathe and have being; in its magnificent making of us all kin, the supreme justification of all working-class claims! In our work for the strike, in our help to it, in our standing shoulder to shoulder in its behalf, we may prove beyond question the earnestness and desperation of our needs and aims—and so win to immediate victory and speedier economic liberation.

### THE STRIKE COMMITTEE.

An event in the history of the Waihi struggle was the appointment of P. Fraser to represent the Federation Executive on the Strike Committee. He arrived at Waihi on October 2. Had space permitted, a chapter of this book might easily have been written around the labors of the Strike Committee and Mr. Fraser, and the incidents which characterised the interval between that date and Black Tuesday. A chapter might also have been devoted to the work of F. E. Lark, who helped to bring to light sensational evidence that would have been otherwise suppressed, and whose endeavers were invaluable from the viewpoint of public well-being.

# CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN. THE EXODUS AND AFTER.

You must live on—live and hate; Conquer wrath, despair, and pain; For "we bid you hope"—and wait Till the Red Flag flies again.
—Francis Adams,



UNDREDS of families left Waihi as a result of the outrages that were perpetrated during "Black Week"—they were really driven out by the combined forces of the thugs and the police, under threats of personal violence extending to murder. Most of the refugees fled to Auckland, many to Karangahake and the Thames Valley, and others to various scattered centres. At Auckland the Socialist Party and the

its Theosophical Society each threw rooms open for When necessary accommodation. it. became to vacate Socialist rooms. the Auckland Trades Hall promptly opened its doors, and by every union and every union official the utmost kindliness and practical sympathy was extended. At Karangahake and the Thames the local unions (still working under the Arbitration Act) did not hesitate for a moment, and every assistance was forthcoming, while private homes were thrown open to the Waihi refugees with a camaraderie that was splendidly demonstrative of the recognition of class interests behind Waihi presented the appearance of a partially-deserted village. Hundreds of houses stood empty, with doors broken and windows smashed-irrefutable testimony as to the enthusiasm of the raiders and the lawlessness of the law.

On Saturday, November 30, the strike was declared off at a meeting of members of the Union held at Auckland, and at subsequent meetings at the Thames and Karangahake.

Event followed event with kaleidoscopic rapidity. Mr. Rhodes declared the Unionists could return to work without joining the scab organisation. The scab union officials posted notices bearing Mr. Barry's signature to the effect that only members of the scab union would be employed. The hall and the store were retaken by the Unionists. Parry, McLennan, and Wesley Richards were savagely assaulted by a number of scabs when they visited the mine works to keep an appointment with the manager. And finally the scabs refused to permit the management to re-employ unionists. Later, the scab element, having made it possible for the company to re-establish competitive contracting, began to fight among themselves as a result of that system; and when the 2s. a day "bonus" was cut off they held a meeting in the ti-tree, and the situation became so threatening that the mine superintendent deemed it expedient to address a specially-called meeting of the company's strike-breakers.

It has since been announced that Mr. Barry is to "retire" from the position of superintendent, and everything indicates that there is the utmost dissatisfaction on the part of the scabs with the set of conditions their own traitorism to the working-class has helped to impose.

### CHAPTER THIRTY-EIGHT.

# THOUGH THE SUN GO DOWN IN BLOOD.

For the lords and liars are quaking
At the People's stern awaking
From their slumber of the ages; and the Peoples slowly rise,
And with hands locked tight together,
One in heart and soul for ever,
Watch the sun of Light and Liberty leap up into the skies.
—FRANCIS ADAMS.

HE outburst of outrage and lawlessness at Waihi was undeniably planned by the mine-owners, with the Government for aiders and abettors, the police for organisers, plices, and the law courts for instruments of oppression. Recognising this, we may not blind our eyes to the burden of responsibility that rests on those craft unions proclaiming for arbitration and taking sides with the enemies of Labor. Neither can we lose sight of the wicked culpability of

men who, claiming to speak for Labor, played the game of the masterclass and performed the vile work of disintegration.

It is true a thousand times over that there are red stains of blood on the hands of the men of the Massey Government; that there are plack stains of guilt on their souls; that there is a mantle of conspiracy and corruption and crime over their administration. If there were no conspiracy, and if the Government had nothing to hide, it would long ago have courted the fullest inquiry into every circumstance that led up to the riots, the attempted and successful raids on the halls, the murder of Evans, the driving out of Waihi citizens by thugs and police, and every linked-up event that followed. But it was not Massey that brought about the defeat at Waihi. It was Labor that defeated Labor. Class-unconsciousness, reflected in craft unions whose sectionalism refused to recognise that an injury to the working-men of Waihi could possibly be an injury to the working-men elsewhere, was the fundamental weakness of our national industrialism. But the awakening Our dead comrade is destined to speak louder from the silence of the grave than ever he might have spoken in life, and the lesson to be read from the eternal gloom of that great tragedy is for the work--ing-class a message of industrial life, proclaiming the need for and pointing the way to revolutionary working-class organisation, and hasten-



P. FRASER,
Federation of Labor Executive Representative at Waihi,

Sub-editor MAORILAND WORKER, and Strike Delegate to Australia.





R. S. ROSS. Editor Magriland Worker.



H. E. HOLLAND, Sent by Federation of Labor to Waihi upon news of evictions, etc. Special Reporter Worker.

ing the consolidation of the working-class forces into one big revolutionary union on the industrial field in a way that will abolish Arbitration Courts and make scab "unions" impossible, and one big revolutionary party on the political field with the overthrow of the Class State for its objective and the replacing of political class rule with industrial administration by the workers themselves.

It remains for us to make every frowning hill, every smiling valley, every rock-ciiffed gorge, every gully and gulch, ring with the story of the crime committed by and for the ruling-class at Waihi. It is for us to insist that every drop of Evans' blood that reddened the soil on that tragic day; every heartbreak of those who loved him in life; every sob of anguish wrung from the orphaned hearts of Evans' little ones, constitutes a call for greater working-class solidarity—solidarity on the industrial field, solidarity on the political field—a solidarity, born of knowledge, the ripe fruit of experience, that crystallised into power will deprive for ever the Masseys and the Cullens and their employers, the exploiters, of the opportunity to oppress.

We do not forget that Waihi was but a skirmish of the advance guard in the great class war. Nevertheless, it may be said, without fear of serious contradiction, that the struggle and the sacrifice was well worth while-indeed, it was not only worth while; but it was both inevitable and unavoidable. The workers were determinedly and deliberately forced by the employers into conflict; and throughout the conflict the splendid solidarity of the men, the splendid heroism of the women, the splendid loyalty of the little children, the magnificent response of the affiliations and other bodies in both New Zealand and Australia, the dire treachery of so-called "Labor" men who acted as scab advocates and organisers, the reckless tyranny and corruption of the class Government, all provided something to thrill us with admiration or to shock us with indignation. Waihi has furnished an indelible contribution to the history of world struggles for freedom; and out of its tragedy has sprung the magnificent promise of working-class solidarity—as demonstrated at the Unity Congress (held since the substance of this book has been in type) -and even now the workers are preparing to unite industrially and politically for the overthrow of their historic class enemies. They are getting ready to write "Victory" on every red banner of revolt.

No fight for human freedom is ever wholly lost. Therefore, no strike is ever wholly lost. It lives in its educational results. The sun may go down in blood on what seems to us a lost cause—just as it is alleged to have gone down in darkness on a day 2000 years ago when the ruling-class prevailed and the foremost figure in what was then undoubtedly a movement of the working-class was nailed to a cross and done to death after the manner of the worst criminal; just as in Germany, in England, in France, in Spain, in Italy, in America, in Australia, in every "civilised" country, black night has been ushered in behind a setting sun that reflected the red of the shed blood of men murdered in Humanity's cause; but, as surely as worlds revolve and night's shadows fade and days glow, so surely shall the radiant sun of working-class victory rise resplendent on the horizon of our industrialism.

# APPENDICES.

1.

# NEW ZEALAND FEDERATION OF LABOR.

# STATEMENT SHOWING TOTAL RECEIPTS OF STRIKE AND LOCK-OUT FUND TO FEBRUARY 18, 1913.

#### AFFILIATED UNIONS.

		£ s.	d.	£	s. d.
Waikato Miners' Union		1328 14	9.		
'Granity Miners' Union		3389 10	0		
Granity-Proceeds of Concert		14 3	0		
Grow Valley Werkers? Union		46 10	2		
Doint Elizabeth State Mineral Thing		2861 0	0		
State Mine Collection		4 4	4		
Donniston Mineral Union		2495 0	0		
Inangahua Miners' Union		1623 4	6		
Viningles Mineral Union		110 6	6		
Plackhall Miners' Hujen		2513 7	6		
Plackball Proceeds of Pall		35 0	0		
Taitapu Miners' Union		131 10	3		
Green Island Mineral Union		215 0	0		
Donanaa Minana? II		91 11	3		
Dunanaa Minana! Ilmian		626 17	8		
Westport-Stockton Miners' Union		1277 0	6		
Wast Caset Consend Laborated Union		500 10	0		
Grey County Council Roadmen, Barrytov	vn	4 17	6		
Otago Miners' Union		164 18	2		
Do Nightcaps Branch		716 0	0		
Collection—Nightcaps Demonstration		2 16	0		
Whangarei Miners' Union		100 0	3		
Westland Tailoring Trade Union		5 15	0		
Westport Labor Union		484 14	6		
Westport Waterside Workers' Union		885 13	9		
Nelson Waterside Workers' Union		96 6	3		
		429 12	5		
Lyttelton Waterside Workers' Union		1049 2	7		
Wellington Waterside Workers' Union		525 18	6		
		421 0	0		
Mokihinui Miners' Union		423 9	9		
Auckland Tramways Union		277   0	6		
Auckland General Laborers' Union		150 0	0		
Do Limestone Branch		106 0	0		
		40 0	0		
		135 18	7		
		4 12	6		
Canterbury General Laborers' Union		190 12	5		

24,116 5 1

Do Lake Coleridge Branch	31 0 0
Foxton Waterside Workers' Union	27 14 0
	$2 \ 0 \ 0$
Wellington Gas Employees' Union	21  1  0
Manawatu Flaxmillers' Union Do Tokomaru Branch	47 3 0
Do Tokomaru Branch	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Dunedin Waterside Workers' Union	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Grey Waterside Workers' Union Grey Waterside Workers (per J. Scott)	20 0 0
Picton Waterside Workers' Union	15 0 0
Whangarei Laborers' Union	4 4 0
Poverty Bay Railway Construction Workers	30 0 6
UNAFFILIATED ORGANIS.	ATIONS.
AND THE STATE OF T	40 0 0
Karangahake Miners' Union	519 8 0
Komata Miners' Union	25 13 6
Lyttelton Railway Workers	5 0 0
Sylvia Miners' Union	3 10 0
Per Social-Democrat	24 7 0
Karangahake Football League	3 0 0
Individual Subs. to Waini	17 3 0
	42 0 0
Wellington Operative Bootmakers' Union	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Taratahi Meat Workers' Union	5 0 0
State Collieries Deputies' Union	120 0 0
Canterbury Freezers' Union	25 0 0
Canterbury Freezers' Union Canterbury Metal Workers' Assistants'	
	19 0 <b>0</b>
Addington Branch A.S.R.S	26 19 0
Christchurch Tinsmiths' Union	2 8 0
Huntly Methodist Church Auckland Boat Builders' Union	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Auckland Gardeners' Union	2 16 0
Home Bush Collieries' Union	15 0 0
Home Bush Collieries' Union Wellington Plasterers' Union	1 10 0
Canterbury Engine-drivers and Firemen's	
Union	$5 \ 5 \ 0$
Buller Deputies' Union	26 8 0
Canterbury Drivers' Union Wellington Letterpress Machinists' Union	20 0 0
Gisborne General Laborers	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Oxford Marriana	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Dunadin Stanamagana' Union	3 9 0
Utago General Laborers' Union	20 0 0
Feilding Branch N.Z.S.P	1 10 0
Christchurch Collection	5 7 0
Glenhope Workers' Union	40 9 0
Crow S.S. Haupiri	$egin{array}{ccccc} 1 & 5 & 0 \ 3 & 0 & 0 \end{array}$
Crew S.S. Kowhai	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Per M. Silverstone	1 4 6
Thorndon Branch A.S.R.S.	13 18 0
Leader River Public Works	11 15 0
Millerton All Nations Football Club	0 13 6
Glenhope Workers' Union Crew S.S. Haupiri Crew S.S. Monowai Crew S.S. Kowhai Per M. Silverstone Thorndon Branch A.S.R.S. Leader River Public Works Millerton All Nations Football Club Christchurch Militant Group Canterbury Slaughtermen	13 7 0
	10 10 0
New Zealand Federated Bootmakers Do Auckland Branch	50 0 0 2 16 6
Do Auckland Dranch	2 16 63

Gisborne Drivers' Union	$2 \ 11 \ 0$	
Wellington General Laborers' Union	10 0 0	
Christchurch Gardeners' Union	$2 \ 0 \ 0$	
C . 1 D : 11 TY :	10 0 0	
Wellington Collections	$32 \ 12 \ 0$	
New Plymouth Waterside Workers' Union	$5 \ 0 \ 0$	
Auckland Coopers' Union	2 10 0	
Christchurch Moulders' Union	20 0 0	
Wellington Tramways Union	6 0 0	
Lawrence-Roxburgh Railway Workers	5 12 6	
Oamaru Waterside Workers	5 0 0	
	0 0 0	
Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Christ-	20 0 0	
church	30 3 0	
Proceeds Ladies' Concert, Runanga	11 0 0	
Proceeds Ladies' Ball, Tokomaru	25 10 0	
Collection—Buller Demonstration	11 5 6	
Johnsonville Subs. (per R. W. Hustler)	7 6 0	
Auckland Stonemasons' Union	15 0 0	
Subs. (per J. Moran, Porangahua)	3 5 0	
Subs. (per M. Laracy)	<b>33</b> 1 6	
Auckland Branch N.Z.S.P	90 5 8	
Individual Subscriptions	153 7 7	
Interretain Constitution of the constitution o		

1,680 0 3

### AUSTRALIAN CONTRIBUTIONS.

Bendigo Miners' Association	5 0	0,
Barrier Branch A.M.A	1362 0	0
Federated Timber Workers, Queensland	5 0	0
Powlett River Branch V.C.M.A	268 11	9
Brisbane Union, per A. Hinchcliffe	10 0	0
Brisbane Union, per A. Hinchcliffe	1 6	0
Coal Cliffe Miners' Lodge	138 11	3
Sydney Wharf Laborers	55 0	0
Sydney Coal Lumpers Bee Mountain Branch A.M.A	100 0	0
Bee Mountain Branch A.M.A	22 - 0	0
Northern District Colliery Employees,		
	3410 13	3
N.S.W	210 0	0
Queensland Typographical Association	15 0	0
Coolgardie Miners	20 0	0
Wrightville Branch A.M.A	90 0	0
Brisbane Waterside Workers	130 0	0
South Clifton Miners' Lodge	70 17	6
Adelaide Federated Ironworkers' Assn	17 4	0
Adelaide Branch Federated Seamen's Union	2 0	0
Federated Timber Workers, Perth	50 0	0
South Australian U.L.U	25 0	0
Kalgoorlie and Boulder Branch F.M.U	307 16	6
Amalgamated Surface Workers, Kalgoorlie	285 0	0
Clerical Workers, Kalgoorlie	3 5	0
Street Collection, Kalgoorlie		0
Iron and Brass Founders' Union, Kalgoorlie	$\begin{array}{ccc} 3 & 4 \\ 5 & 0 \end{array}$	0
E.G. Breweries' Employees' Union	5 5	0
E.G. Breweries' Employees' Union E.G. Municipal Employees' Union	20 0	0
Marvel Loch Branch W.G.F.M.U	28 0	0
Comet Vale Branch W.G.F.M.U	14 10	0
Higginsville Branch W.G.F.M.U	2 0	0
Norseman Branch W.G.F.M.U	34 0	0
Gwalia Branch W.G.F.M.U	72 11	0
Bullfinch Branch W.G.F.M.U	12 11	0

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Laverton Branch W.G.F.M.U	5 0 0
Kookyne Branch W.G.F.M.U	2 2 0
Boorara Branch W.G.F.M.II	24 18 0
Mengies Branch W.G.F.M.U.	5 0 0
Laverton Branch W.G.F.M.U.  Kookyne Branch W.G.F.M.U.  Boorara Branch W.G.F.M.U.  Menzies Branch W.G.F.M.U.  Mulline Branch W.G.F.M.U.  Kanowna Branch W.G.F.M.U.  Morgan Branch W.G.F.M.U.  Social-Democrat Association, Kalgoorlie  Tailors and Tailoresses' Union, Kalgoorlie	16 0 0
Withitte Dranch W.G.F.M.U	
Kanowna Branch W.G.F.M.U	3 6 0
Morgan Branch W.G.F.M.U	1 1 0
Social-Democrat Association, Kalgoorlie	0 16 9
Tailors and Tailoresses' Union, Kalgoorlie	6 6 0
Tailors and Tailoresses' Union, Kalgoorlie Meekatharra Branch A.W.A Coal Miners' Mutual Protection Associa-	100 0 0
Coal Miners' Mutual Protection Associa-	100 0 0
tion Lithage	95 0 0
tion, Lithgow Western District Coal and Shale Employees Port Pirie W.W.A. of Australia Shuttleton Branch A.M.A.	25 0 0
Western District Coal and Shale Employees	326 10 0
Port Pirie W.W.A. of Australia	200 0 0
	12 11 0
Port Pirie Trades and Labor Council	3 6 9
Collie Branch A.M.A	89 0 0
Barrier Labor Federation	59 5 6
Manning Property A. I. F.	
Menzies Dranch A.L.F	0 10 0
Kalgoorlie Branch Typographical Assn	$5 \ 0 \ 0$
E.G. Women's Labor League	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Metropolitan Plasterers' Union, Perth	3 3 0
Adelaide Working Men's Association	200 0 0
Port Pirie Trades and Labor Council Collie Branch A.M.A.  Barrier Labor Federation Menzies Branch A.L.F. Kalgoorlie Branch Typographical Assn E.G. Women's Labor League Metropolitan Plasterers' Union, Perth Adelaide Working Men's Association Granville Sewer Workers Bunbury Lumpers' Union J. Nolan H. Collien Cambelego Branch A.M.A. Kalgoorlie Branch C. and J. Union W.A. Amalgamated Society Railway Servants	3 6 6
Danhaum Lampons, Union	
Bunbury Lumpers Union	
J. Nolan	0 5 0
H. Collien	1 0 0
Cambelego Branch A.M.A	61 17 6
Kalgoorlie Branch C. and J. Union	$2 \ 2 \ 0$
W A Amalgamated Society Railway	
Correcte Society Italian	50 0 0
Servants	90 0 0
United Laborers' Protective Society,	00 0 0
Portland	99 3 6
United Laborers' Protective Society,	
Hartley Vale	5 0 0
United Laborers' Protective Society	
Sydnor	20 0 0
Sydney	20 0 0
United Laborers Protective Society,	0.74 0
Torbane	9 14 6
United Laborers' Protective Society,	
Excelsior United Laborers' Protective Society, Murrarunda	$6 \ 0 \ 0$
United Laborers' Protective Society.	
Murrarunda	1 17 0
A W A Cuo	178 0 0
A.W.A., Cue	5 5 0
Ferth Theatrical Employees Association	
Adelaide United Labor Union Dredge Wallaroo, W.A Adelaide United Trades and Labor Council	50. 0 0
Dredge Wallaroo, W.A	1 9 0
Adelaide United Trades and Labor Council	66 6 U
Cobar A.M.A	150 0 0
Port Pirie A M A	90 0 0
Carlton Trades Hall Council	102 15 3
W. A. Torra and Done Mandage? Their	10 0 0
W.A. Iron and Drass Mounders Union	
Cobar A.M.A.  Port Pirie A.M.A.  Carlton Trades Hall Council  W.A. Iron and Brass Moulders' Union  Metropolitan Council, Perth  Australian Butchers' Federation, Carlton  Sawmill Employees' Federation, Carlton  Lilawara Colliery Employees' Association	120 0 0
Australian Butchers' Federation, Carlton	50 0 0
Sawmill Employees' Federation, Carlton	50 0 0
Illawara Colliery Employees' Association	100 0 0
Typographical Union, Carlton	5 0 0
Painters' Union Carlton	5 5 0
Victorian Pailway Union	10 0 0
Typographical Union, Carlton  Painters' Union, Carlton  Victorian Railway Union  E.G. Dairy Employees' Association  Coolgardie Railway Employees' Association	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
E.G. Dairy Employees' Association	1 0 0
Coolgardie Railway Employees' Association	0 13 6

E.G. Butchers' Union, Kalgoorlie	2 2	0	
Bread Carters' Union, Kalgoorlie	$egin{array}{ccc} 2 & 2 \\ 2 & 2 \\ 1 & 0 \end{array}$	0	
Masons and Bricklayers' Union, Kalgoorlie	1 0	0	
Electrical Workers' Union, Kalgoorlie		Ō	
E.G. Operative Bakers, Kalgoorlie		Ö	
Fremantle and District T.H. Association		ŏ	
Sandstone Branch A.F.E. and A		ŏ	
Mt. Magnet Branch A.W.A		ŏ	
	0 0	U	
Lithgow Branch Federated Drivers and	8 10	0	
Firemen's Association			
Lithgow Iron Workers' Association		0	
Kalgoorlie Tramway Employees' Union		0	
Kalgoorlie Hairdressers' Union		0	
Townsville Workers' Association		0	
Newcastle Trades and Labor Council	15   0	0	
Brisbane Labor Federation	26   0	0	
Southern Cross Railway Association	1 11	6	
Kalgoorlie E.G. Shop Assistants	3 12	0	
Kalgoorlie News Runners' Association	1 0	0	
Coledale Lodge, N.S.W	10 0	0	
Fremantle Lumpers' Union	60 0	0	
Australian Labor Federation	5 0	0	
Tiarua, Broken Hill		Õ	
Third, Dioxed Hill		9,395	7 6
		*	
Grand Total		£35,191	12 10
Orand rotal		200,101	12 10

J. GLOVER, Secretary.

11.

# LIST OF STRIKE-BREAKERS AT WAIHI.

#### Miners.

Armstrong, T. \*Angel, Wm. Butler, Alf. \*Berryman, John \*Berryman, James Brown, Alf. Bates, C. Beeston, J. Bostock, Harry (Wyalong) \*Butler, John (Tassy) Colledge, James (Darkey) Cleave, Jim \*Crean, Tho Caines, R. Thomas \*Currie, James (Scotland) Currie, Joseph. Collinson, W.

\*Elliot, Thom. Earl, Fred. Fellows, A. Faulder, Geo. \*Farrel, Richard \*Gray, Harry (vicepres. scab union) Gardner, Dan \*Gardner, Wm.
Harvey, W. E. (Pug)
Harvey, Walter
\*Martin, Thom. J.
Maxwell, Laurance McDermott, J Smith, T.
McInteer, James Sharkey, Thom.
\*McLaughlin, F. (Moil Hole) Truscott, John
\*McRea, G. D.
Truscott, Len. O'Loughlin, Tom

\*Nickolson, Ach.

\*Pemberthey, Dick \*Phillips, Wm.
\*Phillips (Captain)
Roberts, W. H.
\*Rudd, M. B. (pres.
scab union) Spalding, Herb. Smeeton, Dunk Smith, G. (Pioke) \*Polkinghorne, Robert Sleep, Arthur \*Silvious, Harry \*Sullivan, Jack \*Trembath, Rob.

Thornton, Frank

Dutton, Walter (mine manager) \*Dutton, Thom. Delaney, James A. \*Dawson, James

Gibson, E. (Yorkey) Webber, Mark Parry, Arthur (no relation to W. E.)
\*Pascoe, Jack (not Big Jack)

\*Worthington, G. \*Wells, H. (Smiler) Wilson, Jim Quigg, Frank

Laborers, Etc. Hughes, J. Hardwick, W. Hicks, W. (Captain) Hicks, R. Hall, G. Holdsworth, William (electrician) Heath, Fac. Heath, W. Heath, C. Horner, R. Hill, A. Heath, F. Hines, J. Hall, T. E. Harvey, Ern. tery-hand) (bat-\*Halton, J. (trucker) Hayden, J. (fireman) Jones, F. (blacksmith) Johnston, C Johnson, G. Kelly, H \*Kinsella, R.
Kennedy, T.
\*Ludwig, Collins
Lawn, F. (electrician) Moore, H. \*Lusby, Fred. (chamberman) Lane, D. (pipe fitter) Longuit, Victor (fireman) Lindsay, D. (blacksmith) Luther, J. Longfellow, W. Maiden, Wm. (truck-Marlow, F., jun. Moore, H. Moneham, Moffat, J. Moffat, G. Moray (Captain) Matches, J. Millar, J. Murray, H. Middlebrook (timber-

man)

Miller, J. (carpenter)

McCarty, C. (cleanerboy) McLean, W. McLeod, W Oldan, G. Oliver, F. Owens, W. H. O'Shea, J. (horsedriver) Potter, V. (councillor) Pennell, G. Parsons, J. (boy) Preston, T. Pulham (secretary scab union) Potiers, C. Probin, C. \*Pascoe, Ben. (braceman) Pearce, J. H. (truck-Parsons, J. (carpenter) \*Ritchie, A. (fireman) Rose, W. Ricklbin (tinker) Stafford, J. Sampson, D. Sporle, J. Swares, C. (batteryhand) \*Short, H. (chamberman) Stapleton, A. (fitter) Thompson, R. G. (fireman) Thompson, A. Turner, P. Taylor, A.
\*Turner, H. (fitter)
Triplow, J. (boy fitter) Tibbit, J. Tennent, Thos. \*Vosper, Wm. \*Walters, J. Windser (jockey) Wallace, L. (chamberman) Wortly, A. A. (ex-

tramwayman)

Andrews, J. (carpen-\*Aitken, Wm. Armour, W. H. Agnew, T. (trucker) Alexandra (blacksmith) Bowden, Tom. Bell, C. Best, S. \*Blackwood, E. R. Brown, G. T. Best, Tom. Buckridge, J. J. Broadbent, (battery-hand) Bell, R. Brown, jun. (nipper) Capper, J. (fitter) Craig, W Clarke, H. E. (amalgamator) Crabb, A. W. Currie, (bricklayer) Cochrane, C. Collins, C. (Porky) Cook, C. Cunliffe, W. Dawson, N. Donnelly, T. W. Dunstan, (truck greaser) W. Dunstan, (late caretaker Union Hall) Doherty (batteryhand) Dobson, J.
Davis, J. (Creeper) Fields, A. Foster, Joe (wowser) Foster, J. (batteryhand) Farrely, Cecil (platman) Teathers, W. (chamberman)

Godfrey, F. (battery-

Griffiths, J. George, W., jun. Gilpin, Mat

hand).

Gillander, J. (fireman) \*Hands, Claude (councillor)

McLatchie, J. McCoy, Robt. McGuiness, A. \*McLean, Tom. (pipe-fitter) Wright, J. (battery-hand)
Walters, Mace.

#### Engine-drivers.

Burns, David
Bagwell, Percy
Blucher, Hector
Carles, John
Coutts, E. D.
Dunstan, Charles
Doidge, L.
Duschka, Fred.
Grubb, D.
Hall, Alick
Inglis, Bert

Jarvis, Victor Kerr, H. Langhon, Harry Mitchell, Ed. Mills, A. Morgan, J. Mackey, Bruce Mackey, Ed. Roach, A. J. Sporle, J. Stack, Ed.

Snow, John Stewart, C. Sheard, Ben. Thompson, J. H. Thompson, Scotty Taylor, H. Whitehouse, J. White, George Williams, Percy Waite, J. Young, W.

#### A.S.E. Members.

Bridge, J. Corbett, T. Irvine, J.

McCarty, E. Ganley, W. Sampson, W.

Wilson, Dan.

\*Drew strike pay prior to scabbing.

111.

### ENGINE-DRIVERS AGAINST SCABBING.

There were between 75 and 80 engine-drivers and firemen employed at Waihi, and of these 51 objected to the formation of the scab union, and placed their names to a document setting forth their objection. The document reads as follows:—

We, the undersigned engine-drivers and firemen of the Waihi Workers' Union, strongly object to the formation of an Arbitration Court Union in this district, as we fully recognise the superior benefits to be obtained under the Waihi Workers' Union.

Name. Occupation. H. W. THORPE Engine-driver. WILLIAM K. CLARK Engine-driver. ALBERT C. YELLAND THOMAS A. NICKELLS Engine-driver. Engine-driver. JOHN BROOKING ...
J. E. CHAMBERLAIN
P. ADAMSON ...
W. WALLACE Engine-driver. Engine-driver. Fireman. Engine-driver. CHAS. FITTES Fireman. Fireman. THOMAS YOUD TERENCE McCABE ... Fireman.

JOHN JAMES WHAT	LAN			Engine-driver.
JAMES LAIRD				Fireman.
FREDRICK BUCHA				Fireman.
ARTHUR E. BLOO		LD		Fireman.
HARRY O'DONNEL				Fireman.
THOMAS ROBERTS		r	•••	Engine-driver.
THOMAS OWEN RO			1	Engine-driver.
THOMAS ROBERTS		is, oui		Engine-driver.
		• • •		Engine-driver.
WILLIAM JEFFCOT	LE	***	***	Engine-driver.
F. O'DONNELL			• • •	Engine-driver.
B. BURGESS	***	* * *	***	Engine-driver.
S. FLETCHER		***	• • •	Fireman.
JOHN CAVANAGH			• • •	
WILLIAM DAWSON				Engine-driver.
WILLIAM HARKIN	S	***		Engine-driver.
F. G. EVANS				Engine-driver.
W. L. SMITH				Fireman.
H. A. TETLEY				Fireman.
A. FINDLAY			***	Fireman.
JOHN REED				Fireman.
W. KIRKER				Locodriver.
A. E. ROBINSON			***	Engine-driver.
A. E. RITSHIE			4.60	Fireman.
JAMES J. HINCHI	EY			Fireman.
JOHN WIDDISON		***		Fireman.
JOHN McDONALD				Engine-driver.
CHARLES F. FUGI	LL	•••		Fireman.
ALEX. SANDERSO		•••		Fireman.
JNO. McMAHON		***		Fireman.
JOHN BROWN		***	***	Engine-driver.
THOMAS JOHNSON	J			Engine-driver.
	•	• • •		Engine-driver.
E. BURNS W. H. FORSLIND	• • •			Fireman.
M. JENSEN	***	***	***	
TE OF THE PROPERTY.				Engine-driver.
H. G. DANCE	***	***	***	Locodriver.
W. T. WELLS	***	***	***	Engine-driver.
J. DRAWBRIDGE			***	Fireman.
N. JOHNSTON			***	Engine-driver.
GEORGE ODLUM				Fireman.
DAVID GRUBB				Fireman.

IV.

# A PARLIAMENTARY DIVISION.

On November 1 the matter of the jailed strikers was discussed in Parliament, and the subsequent division resulted as follows:—

#### IN FAVOR OF RELEASING THE STRIKE PRISONERS.

Atmore Hindmarsh Poland Brown Isitt Rangihiroa Clark Laurenson Russell Colvin MacDonald Seddon Craigie McKenzie, R. Sidey Ell Parata

Ell Parata Thomson, J. C. Glover Payne Veitch

# IN FAVOR OF HOLDING THE STRIKE PRISONERS IN JAIL FOR A YEAR.

Allen Hanan Okev Anderson Harris Pearce Bell Herdman Pomare Bollard, R. F. Herries Rhodes, R. H. Rhodes, T. W. Bradney Hine Buchanan Hunter Scott Smith, F. H. Buddo Lang Buick Lee Statham Davey McCallum Sykes Dickie Malcolm Thomson, G. M. Dickson Mander Wilford Forbes Massey Wilkinson Fisher Myers Witty Fraser Newman, E. Young Guthrie Nosworthy

#### PAIRS.

In favor of release: Carroll, Robertson. Against release: Bollard, J., Reed.

There were thus 21 members in favor of releasing the strike prisoners, and 44 in favor of keeping them in jail. The foregoing list should be kept for reference.

V.

### THE MINISTRY.

The following was the personnel of the Government that administered the law and employed the police in the class interests of the mine-owners—the Government whose promised "square deal" for the workers resolved into the four walls that make the square enclosing Mt. Eden Jail:—

W. F. Massey, Prime Minister, Lands, Agriculture, etc.

J. Allen, Finance, Defence, Education, etc.

W. H. Herries, Railways.

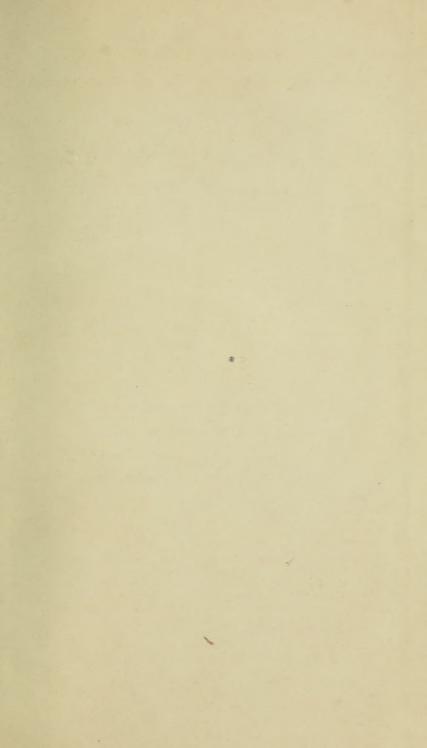
W. Fraser, Works, Roads and Bridges, Mines.

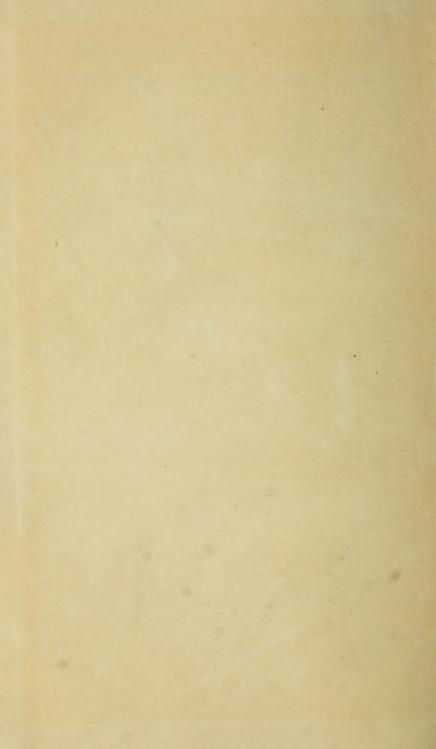
A. L. Herdman, Attorney-General, Minister for Justice.

F. M. B. Fisher, Customs, Marine. F. H. D. Bell, Internal Affairs.

R. H. Rhodes, Postmaster-General.

Dr. Pomare, representing Native Race.





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The tragic story of the
Waihi strike

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